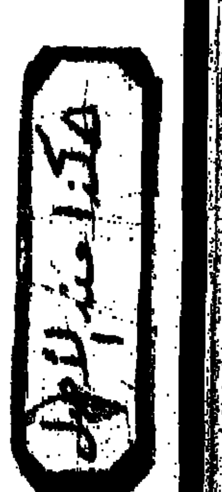



# The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

...burg, 7 August 1983
...ty-second year - No. 1094 - By air


## Strauss-Honecker meeting raises hopes of an East-West thaw



...everal years of frost in East-West ...ies are evidently coming to an end. ...ny further proof were needed, the ...ing between Bavarian Premier ...z Josef Strauss and GDR leader ...h Honecker provided it with a ven-...ce.

...remains to be seen for the time ... what direction moves in world af-...in recent months may yet take and ...her the encouraging trend will con-...

...t it already seems clear that people ...are girding their loins for a hot au-... can expect the overall climate of ...d affairs to be somewhat different ...the summer recess.

...balance sheet of the changes shows ...four years of inability to communi-...between the superpowers are now ...

...hey began with the Soviet invasion ...Afghanistan and escalated throug-... a four-year period during which ...USA and the USSR played their ...s to the brink of confrontation.

...S Secretary of State George Shultz ... In June there was still plenty of ...tance for talks with Moscow. At the ... he had already sounded out this ...stance in many secret meetings with ...Soviet ambassador to Washington, Dobrynin.

...e Soviet ambassador has since ... been able to use the basement en-...e to the State Department, as in Kissinger's days, and the "second ...nel" by which Mr Kissinger as Sec-...y of State made headway in the ...alks.

...e issue now under discussion is ... a drastic reduction in strategic ...ments.

...e situation in the Middle East and ...ect humanitarian issues are also ...r discussion, while the United Sta-... officially negotiating with the So-... Union the terms of a new long-term ... agreement.

...ere are talks on a withdrawal of ...an forces from Angola that might already have come to something if only South Africa had been more obliging.

Mr Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko are due to hold talks on a wide range of subjects during the opening week of the UN General Assembly at the end of September.

They should pave the way for a summit meeting between President Reagan and the Soviet leader, Mr Andropov.

The change is even more striking when the course of negotiations at the various conferences on disarmament and arms control is taken into account.

For years they marked time or made very slow progress: the Helsinki review conference in Madrid, the MBFR talks in Vienna, the UN disarmament conference in Geneva, the Start and the INF talks, also in Geneva.

Now things are on the move everywhere:

● After three years of talks in Madrid the Helsinki review conference has been concluded with a very satisfactory results for the West.

Results have been achieved in Madrid just in time to launch a European disarmament in Stockholm this winter at what may well be the same time as the West goes ahead with missile modernisation.

● Yet agreement at the Geneva INF talks on a much lower ceiling for medium-range missiles no longer seems out of the question now that both superpowers have signalised their readiness to reconsider the walk in the woods proposals drawn up by Mr Nitze and Mr Kvitsinski and rejected last year.

● At the Start talks on strategic arms reduction both Washington and Moscow have submitted proposals that have brought their respective positions much closer together. It came as a surprise to hear from the US delegation that after a high-level political decision agreement might be reached on Start terms too in four to six months.

● On mutual balanced force reduction in Central Europe the Warsaw Pact submitted a treaty draft of its own in the last round of talks that the West feels includes for the first time moves that could make it possible to stake out the framework for an agreement.

In the draft Moscow acknowledges, albeit insufficiently as yet, the principle of verifying agreed troop cuts, whereas the West is showing greater flexibility in the data dispute over the Warsaw Pact's exact troop strength.

● Verification is likewise a main handicap at the UN disarmament conference's talks on a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

Here too Moscow has indicated for the first time that it is prepared to discuss on-the-spot inspection, which would be indispensable.

There are many more pointers to change. In connection with the Helsinki talks Moscow has offered the United States more humanitarian gestures, pos-

Continued on page 2

The picture that says it all. CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss and a laughing GDR leader Erich Honecker during their meeting near East Berlin (Story page 3). (Photo: dpa)



## IN THIS ISSUE



## Alliance vote of confidence for Bonn

Richard Burt, head of European affairs at the US State Department, has given the German government an unconditional vote of confidence.

As chairman of the special Nato consultative group in Brussels for the Geneva disarmament talks between Moscow and Washington Mr Burt is a key figure in Western alliance policy.

Although fellow-members of Nato in Brussels are still upset about comments from Bonn in connection with the Geneva walk-in-the-woods proposals, Mr Burt's talks in Bonn resulted in a reassuring statement by the US embassy.

Agreement between Bonn and Washington on security policy has not since 1977 been as total as it is right now, it was stated.

In Bonn he conferred with Minister of State Alois Mertes, CDU, and state secretary Berndt von Staden of the Foreign Office.

He also held talks with state secretary Lothar Rühl, FDP, and planning chief Volker Rühe, CDU, of the Defence Ministry.

The US government, he said, has no objections to Foreign Minister Genscher, FDP, and Chancellor Kohl, CDU, recommending a resurrection of the walk in the woods proposals in Geneva.

In July 1982 the chief US and Soviet negotiators at the Geneva INF talks, Paul Nitze and Yuli Kvitsinski, agreed during a walk in the woods on a tentative arms limitation plan.

Russia was to scrap all but 75 SS-20 systems in Eastern Europe, while America was to make do with 75 Cruise missiles in Western Europe.

The idea was first rejected in Moscow, then in Washington.

In Nato the first reference to the walk in the woods proposal by Herr Genscher was partly taken to mean that Bonn was no longer so keen on Pershing 2 missiles.

Defence Minister Manfred Wörner, CDU, who has lately been in America and Canada, sounded most annoyed with both Herr Genscher and Herr Kohl.

Chancellor Kohl, in an interview with the *Washington Post*, said: "I am in favour of using every opportunity of holding sensible talks in Geneva.

"Over a year ago there was the so-called walk in the woods. The issue was not sounded out in depth.

"I am no judge of whether there is any chance of a fresh start here. That will need to be checked out in Geneva.

"We are not changing the timetable of the stationing of Pershing 2s if Geneva proves a failure."

After Mr Burt's talks in Bonn both US and German officials agree that the crucial feature of the walk-in-the-woods reminder is not the decision to dispense US missiles but Moscow's agreement a year ago to a balance that did not include British and French nuclear missiles.

Moscow has since blocked the Geneva talks by demanding the inclusion of the 162 Anglo-French systems in any agreement to be reached.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 July 1983)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

# Britain drops a hint about missiles talks

Britain's Defence Minister, Michael Heseltine, has signaled Britain's readiness to include its nuclear weapons in the Start talks, even though Whitehall might be unwilling to include them in the INF talks on US and Soviet medium-range missiles.

His comments, in Parliament in London, will have received attention in Moscow, even if they have not in the Western mass media.

Mr Heseltine's comment may have meant that Chancellor Kohl of Germany has urged President Mitterrand of France to take a similar view during their walk in the woods in Alsace.

Moscow's insistence on British and French nuclear weapons being included in the INF talks at Geneva has emerged as a crucial handicap to an interim solution.

This was a point brought home to Herr Kohl and his Foreign Minister, Herr Genscher, on their recent visit to Moscow. It was also taken by Egon Bahr, the Bonn Opposition's security expert, in the Soviet capital.

The obvious reason for Soviet insistence is that Britain plans to replace its 64 Polaris missiles on board nuclear submarines by Trident missiles at the end of the decade.

The Polaris has three warheads, the Trident ten.

France plans to expand its nuclear fleet from five to seven submarines and to fit them out with new missiles that have seven warheads each instead of one.

If Britain and France were prepared to include their independent strategic nuclear deterrent in a global East-West balance, Moscow could no longer plausibly justify its insitgence on its inclusion in the medium-range INF talks.

Viewed in this light it is easier to see why both Herr Genscher and Herr Kohl have referred in interviews to last year's Geneva walk in the woods proposals by Mr Nitze and Mr Kvitsinski as a model.

The chief US and Soviet delegate at the Geneva talks tentatively suggested that 75 SS-20 missiles (with a total 225 warheads) aimed at Western Europe and 75 US Cruise missile launching facilities with four warheads each aimed at Eastern Europe might be considered a balance.

That would have meant a Western decision to dispense with the 108 Pershing 2 missiles due to be stationed in Germany failing agreement at the Geneva talks.

No Pershings was probably what most interested the Soviet Union.

The Russians were to keep a further 90 SS-20s, totalling 270 warheads, in Siberia, and although the SS-20s are mobile they were not classified as a counterweight to British and French missiles.

Since Soviet diplomats are known never to act except on instructions it must be assumed that Moscow's swift disclaimer of this compromise may have had something to do with a reassessment of the British and French positions.

An aspect of the overall picture of "smoke signals" from London, Bonn and the talks between M. Mitterrand and Herr Kohl is that Moscow and Washington, likewise virtually unnoticed by public opinion, are much nearer agreement at the Start talks.

The Soviet Union now suggests that both sides reduce the number of their ICBMs and bombers to 1,800 units each by the end of the decade.

The United States would like the two sides to commit themselves to a maximum of 1,200 missiles and 400 strategic long-range bombers each.

The difference, a mere 200 delivery sytems, ought soon to be overcome, and the *New York Times* says Washington no longer objects to limiting the number of Cruise missiles to be launched from on board aircraft.

The Russians want each side to limit itself to a ceiling of 1,080 missiles and aircraft with several warheads each.

So the numbers game need no longer go on interminably at the Start talks, although that still leaves the question of controls.

Moscow has, however, threatened to break off the Start talks if the West goes ahead and stations new medium-range US missiles in Europe because results have not been achieved at the INF talks.

Mr Heseltine's statement at Westminster that Britain would not stand aside if Start terms were agreed is an incentive to Moscow no longer to fear that Britain might go it alone in boosting the number of its nuclear warheads.

If France were to sound a similar note there would no longer be any real reason why the Soviet Union should allow the INF talks to founder on the issue of British and French strategic missiles.

By definition the British and French missiles are in any case an issue for the Start talks.

The way would then be clear for a return to the walk in the woods proposal at the INF talks when they restart at the beginning of September.

Yet maybe President Mitterrand is keen on seeing Pershing 2s stationed in Germany no matter how many walks are held in the woods.

Maybe he is as keen on seeing the Pershings stationed as Chancellor Kohl, Foreign Minister Genscher and the Opposition SPD are keen to make at least the Pershings superfluous and to limit missile modernisation to Cruise missiles.

It has been clear since the walk in the Geneva woods at the latest that Moscow feels the Cruise missiles might be tolerable, whereas the Pershings are not.

From M. Mitterrand's viewpoint a "fence" of Pershings in Germany might be the ideal safeguard for France.

If that is the case and France fails to signal willingness along lines similar to Mr Heseltine's, the blame in December (the missile modernisation deadline) will no longer lie as clearly with the Americans as many, especially in the SPD, might like to believe. *Erich Hauser*

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 26 July 1983)

# Will to compromise at the heart of the arms matte[r]

The year 1983 may well be recalled as the year of the woods: not just on account of acid rain but also in view of the state of East-West relations. East-West ties hinge on whether America and Russia come to terms in Geneva on medium-range missiles, as they urgently need to.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl's reference to last year's walk in the woods proposal made by the chief US and Soviet delegates at the Geneva talks shows how keen people have grown to see the superpowers show greater flexibility.

There can be no other reason to explain why Herr Kohl should have chosen to outline his views to a US newspaper at the very moment Defence Minister Manfred Wörner was in Washington on his behalf.

Herr Wörner's brief was to assure his American hosts that despite an interview in which Foreign Minister Genscher has pointedly recalled the walk in the woods proposal Bonn had no intention of upsetting the tricky negotiations by offering unsolicited public advice.

Herr Kohl's interview thus created a surprise in Washington, but German-American interviewitis will be of no importance for the success or failure of the Geneva talks.

The crux will be whether the United States and the Soviet Union to reach a compromise as befits powers with worldwide responsibilities.

Moscow has so far pursued four objectives at Geneva. It is keen to reach an agreement covering only Europe and not Asia. It doesn't want any new medium-range US missiles stationed in Europe. It would like to see a reduction in the number of medium-range nuclear bombers stationed in and around Europe, and it would also prefer to see a Geneva agreement include British and French missiles.

With express reference to these four objectives the Kremlin last year rejected the walk in the woods compromise proposed by the two chief delegates in Geneva, Mr Nitze and Mr Kvitsinski.

Their tentative proposal provided for an approximate partiy of 300 warheads on each side in Europe and a Western decision not to station the Pershing 2 in Germany.

Mr Brezhnev was still alive at the time but the present Soviet leader, Mr Andropov, played a key role in rejecting the walk in the woods compromise.

He evidently set great store by letting Washington know about his part in the decision.

That need not mean that the Kremlin leader is still uncompromisingly in favour of nothing but an agreement along the four lines mentioned.

At least the first three of them, incidentally, cannot be interpreted other than as bids by the Soviet Uni[on for] superiority over the United [States in] Europe.

But maybe Mr Andropov's [rejection] of a compromise last year wh[ile] waiting until Mr Brezhnev di[ed and his] bidding for power was aimed [at giving] him a free hand.

On assuming power he would [be] able to negotiate terms he co[uld claim] to be a personal success. Th[is is the] point at which the West ought [to consi]der what compromise prop[osals it] might submit in Geneva.

Any solution now put forw[ard must] not only be in keeping with [Western se]curity interests; it must also b[e one] which Mr Andropov can gai[n the ap]proval of the politically powerf[ul] armed forces.

So the aim should be mak[e] reducing the number of Pershi[ngs, which the] Russians rightly regard as a p[...] grave threat.

In return the Soviet Union w[ould be] expected to scrap a suitable n[umber of] SS-20s aimed at targets in We[stern Eu]rope.

This arrangement for Europ[e would] need to be accompanied by a [...] Soviet missiles in Asia that [...] security interests there into a[ccount...] ruled out an uncontrolled mis[sile build]up.

The West's refusal to allo[w British] and French missiles to be co[unted for] the purposes of an INF a[greement] would need to be made acc[eptable by] an offer to include them in the [Start] dialogue, which is where they b[elong].

Last but not least, the aim [must] be to arrive at an interim sol[ution fol]lowed by one round of no dou[bt end]less negotiations after su[ch...] medium-range missiles.

The aim must be to arrive at [a so]lution inasmuch as all aspec[ts of the] medium-range missile debate [that can]not be settled are referred to [the Start] talks.

Moscow could hardly rej[ect as im]plausible arguments any such [compro]mise proposed by the West. Th[e Krem]lin would clearly be to blam[e for the] failure of the Geneva talks if t[hey] break down.

But there is very little tim[e in] which to come to terms, altho[ugh Herr] Wörner returned from Washi[ngton con]vinced that US foreign poli[cy-makers] were ready to sound a more [flexible] note.

Bonn's diplomats ought e[...] and imaginatively to try at lo[ng last to] persuade the Reagan administr[ation to] pluck up courage and aim for [a com]promise. *Walther [...]*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, [...])

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: [...] Heinz Editor: Alexander Anthony. English [...] sub-editor Simon Burnett. – Distribution [...] Georgine Picone.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH. 23 Schoene [...] Hamburg 76. Tel.: 22 85 1 Telex: 02-14733.

Advertising rates list No. 14 –
Annual subscription DM 45.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedr[ich ...] Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA by [...] MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New [York] 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE [...] published in cooperation with the editorial [...] leading newspapers of the Federal Republic [...] ny. They are complete translations of the original [...] no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

In all correspondence please quote your [...] number which appears on the wrapper [...] asterisks, above your address.

Continued from page 1

sibly even higher exit visa figures, by the year's end.

The Soviet Union has also suggested a reciprocal 12-month moratorium on tests of the American MX and the Soviet SS-24 missiles.

Martial law has been lifted in Poland. In intra-German relations, which always reflect the tenor of international affairs, the prospects for talks look better than they have ever done.

All these trends are interlinked, especially those concerning negotiations on disarmament and arms control.

Progress at one conference table may have a positive effect at another, and the same is true of setbacks in talks.

The issue of medium-range missiles and Nato missile modernisation certainly seems to be strongly relativised in this context.

The dialogue that is in the offing between the superpowers follows a more comprehensive concept, and Bonn must take care to ensure it does not lag behind the trend in world affairs in its foreign policy.

*Wolf J. Bell*

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 27 July 1983)



■ GERMANY

# Realpolitik on both sides as Honecker greets Strauss in East Berlin

[B]avarian Prime Minister Franz Josef [S]trauss has been stealing some of [the s]how that should belong to the For[eign] Minister, Hans-Dietrich Gen[sche]r.

[St]rauss' trip to the East Bloc, coming [on t]he heels of his involvement in a [...]-backed bank loan to East Berlin, [ha]s brought him right to the front of [the s]tage.

[T]elevision coverage of him in East [Ger]many included shots of East Ger[man]s in Dresden trying to get Strauss' [help] in their efforts to migrate to the [We]st.

[T]he government-controlled GDR [pre]ss gave remarkably extensive cover[age] to the meeting between GDR leader [Eric]h Honecker and Herr Strauss at [Wer]bellinsee, near East Berlin.

[T]he Bavarian Premier took West Ger[man]s by surprise in paving the way for [the] billion-deutschemark loan to the [GD]R.

[N]ow East Germans have their sur[pris]e. Herr Strauss until recently was [des]cribed by the East German authori[ties] as a cold warrior and No. 1 class [ene]my. Yet he has suddenly been re[cei]ved for talks by Honecker.

Why? As unofficial Bonn Foreign [Min]ister, he has been on the move over [the] past few weeks.

Before touring Czechoslovakia,




Poland and the GDR he visited Rumania, where some of the topics discussed had more to do with Bonn than with Munich.

One is reminded of Herbert Wehner, who under Chancellors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt similarly combined private visits with serious political objectives.

His visits took Foreign Ministry officials and Chancellor's Office staff by surprise, upset and annoyed them in just the same way as Herr Strauss' have.

It is well-known that Herr Strauss wanted to take over as Foreign Minister after the March general election.

Does he now fancy his chances as Germany's Henry Kissinger? Well he may, but the likelihood is that his activities will remain more like those of a Herbert Wehner.

The political surprise Herr Strauss has sprung on the German public is arguably even greater than that of his unofficial change of role.

First he accused the GDR of murder when a West German collapsed and died of a heart attack during interrogation by GDR border guards.

Then he paved the way for the loan to the GDR, held talks with the East German leader and was given benign coverage in the GDR press.

How does it all make sense? Let it first be said that Deutschlandpolitik is definitely on the move, and in both German states.

Herr Strauss may be a political thunderer but he also has a keen sense of Realpolitik, and he is by no means alone in being contradictory in this context.

East Berlin's readiness to hold talks with him likewise runs counter to what many would have expected.

The GDR authorities might have preferred an SPD government in Bonn, but they are no less obliged than anyone else to look political reality in the face and come to terms with a CDU government.

So there is a fair chance that the GDR might end up by dealing with the Kohl government in Bonn in a more businesslike manner, one from which Bonn could well benefit.

Herr Strauss held talks with Herr Honecker. GDR border guards are less heavy-handed than they used to be with transit traffic to and from West Berlin.

Both moves are clearly in part gestures in response to the billion-mark loan, but there must be more to it than that.

They are probably only the first steps by the GDR before more substantial counter-concessions East Berlin realises it still has to make.

That is why criticism of Herr Strauss in connection with the GDR loan is not merely justified in fact. It could well be politically useful in impressing on both German governments that further moves are expected.

Should it turn out that the entire operation amounts to no more than cash against hope, as Count Lambsdorff, the Bonn Economic Affairs Minister, put it, Bonn's hands would be tied where similar moves in future were concerned.

So the signs are that the GDR will be a little more flexible in the months ahead, and, oddly enough, the threat of new US missiles to be stationed in Germany seems to have prompted more intensive intra-German ties.

These ties are probably a precautionary measure prior to the imminent swell of propaganda.

An independent Ostpolitik and Deutschlandpolitik geared to German interests can thus be pursued not merely by occasionally taking a line slightly different to America's, as was the case under Chancellor Schmidt.

The same effect can be achieved by forging even closer links with the USA, contradictory and confusing though it may seem.

It is a promising sign, tokening as it does both Realpolitik and a bilateral limitation of the damage either side can do to the other. *Jürgen Offenbach*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 26 July 1983)

[G]DR newspapers, radio and TV have yet to breathe a word about [the] billion-deutschemark loan made by [Wes]t German banks to the Foreign [Tra]de Bank of the GDR.

East Germany's financial problems [are] evidently felt to be confidential, not [to s]ay intimate, details about which [noth]ing need be said in public.

[Ea]st Germans know only from West [Ger]man TV that Franz Josef Strauss of [all p]eople was one of the men responsi[ble] for arranging the loan.

[It] will be interesting to see whether [the] Bavarian Premier remains the bogy[man] he used to be for GDR propagan[da] purposes.

Western diplomats in East Berlin [hav]e noticed that GDR officials are be[gin]ning to view Herr Strauss in a less [un]favourable light.

[T]he GDR leaders felt unsure how [they] stood when the SPD-FDP coali[tion] came to an end in Bonn last Sep[tem]ber. They no longer knew what [intr]a-German policies to expect from [Bon]n.

[It] was a while before the new Chris[tian] Democratic Intra-German Affairs [Min]ister, Rainer Barzel, gave an assu[ranc]e that Bonn would stand by treaty [oblig]ations and aim at continuity in [Deu]tschlandpolitik.

[H]err Barzel handed over to Heinrich [Win]delen after the general election last [Mar]ch, upsetting the GDR leaders yet [agai]n.

[T]hey deliberately sounded a bearish [note] so as not to be unpleasantly sur[prise]d, but made a point of sounding [coop]erative themselves.

[T]he billion-deutschemark loan nego[tiate]d with backing from Herr Strauss [of a]ll people has thrown the GDR's es[tab]lished notions into total disarray.

[T]he general feeling of uncertainty in [Deu]tschlandpolitik as gained a new di[men]sion. The inconceivable has sud[den]ly become conceivable.

# Concessions that the new soft line might achieve

GDR officials feel the old principle of concessions and counter-concessions was much more convenient, especially as they interpreted it.

For them any deal and any agreement are balanced and in the interest of both sides.

They constantly emphasised that they are prepared to make a suitable counter-concession for every concession.

In return for the cash Bonn paid toward the cost of autobahn construction, for instance, they provided a better road link between Hamburg and West Berlin.

In return for the lump sum payment in lieu of road tolls they keep the transit routes in good condition and ensure that travellers are processed smoothly and swiftly.

In return for a loan they are willing to pay the going rate of interest and to guarantee repayment of capital.

Expectations of anything further officially are beyond the ken of their outlook, which is governed by theories of seclusion and concepts of the enemy.

In other words, the GDR cannot be pressurised. Negotiation packages, linkages and even hopes prepaid in cash can only succeed if they are not recognisable as such.

East Berlin can hardly be expected to respond swiftly to Bonn's gesture, and the concessions Herr Strauss proudly claims the GDR has already made may have been made for other reasons.

They are, in any case, merely faster processing of transit travellers by the GDR border guards and an agreement by which Bonn has paid for the release of 80 prisoners in the GDR, including 10 citizens of the Federal Republic.

After the adverse publicity of a case in which a West German motorist collapsed and died of a heart attack during interrogation by GDR border guards the East German leaders were keen to boost the reputation of their men in uniform.

The GDR government will first wait and see what happens this autumn when the first new US missiles are due to be stationed in the Federal Republic unless results are achieved at the Geneva missiles talks.

It cannot afford to sound a cooperative note beforehand, and GDR officials stress at every opportunity that something will have to be done if the West goes ahead with missile modernisation.

But they don't know what it will be, or so it would seem. In the wake of the billion-deutschemark loan threats of a cut in intra-German trade sound hollower than ever.

As for transit traffic to and from West Berlin, neither the GDR nor the Soviet Union can want to overstep the mark.

In this state of affairs, which was ambivalent for the GDR just as it was for the West, the Bonn government has moved in with its approval of the billion-deutschemark loan.

The loan provides the GDR leaders with an opportunity of explaining to their East bloc allies why East Berlin does not want to over-react to missile modernisation by the West.

The loan will help to ensure that the GDR can meet its financial obligations and maintain economic stability, the argument runs.

With the exchange rate of the dollar steadily increasing, the GDR loan has grown more and more urgently needed.

A GDR that is solvent and economically strong is a stabilising factor politically throughout the East bloc, unlike Poland, which is insolvent and shaken by crises.

So the signs are that the relatively relaxed and cooperative atmosphere in intra-German relations that survived the change of government in Bonn will survive the missile autumn too.

It follows that until autumn the loan can achieve no more than keeping the atmosphere the way it is. Only then will we see whether the GDR leaders feel prepared to make more generous gestures and to risk greater confidence and cooperation.

They are unlikely to change the amount visitors from the West are required to exchange in hard currency per day or to reduce the age at which GDR citizens are allowed to visit the West.

Increasing the exchange requirement has been extremely successful from East Berlin's point of view. There have been far fewer visitors from the West, yet the proceeds have increased by between DM60m and DM100m a year.

Why, in that case, should the GDR be inclined to change the arrangement? As for the age at which GDR citizens are allowed to visit the West, the regulations could conceivably be relaxed.

But in practice they would probably not be interpreted less restrictively than existing provisions for visits to the West on urgent family business.

The GDR has most leeway for making concessions in the forthcoming rounds of talks on, say, the sum Bonn pays East Berlin for postal services.

Until last year West Germany paid East Germany DM80m a year to offset

Continued on page 5

■ HOME AFFAIRS

# The Free Democrats: a party in search of a liberal role

The strategy of the Free Democrats is full of shortcomings. It is half-cocked, not fully thought out.

The party now has to pay for plunging into an uncertain adventure when it threw in its lot with the conservatives.

It cannot keep abandoning liberal principles or the public will ask itself why it gave them another chance in the election in March.

The party needs to re-examine its role in the light of the election when it was returned as the junior partner in the centre-right coalition, just as it had been the junior partner in the centre-left coalition with the SPD.

It is clear that the final painful months of the disintegrating SPD/FDP coalition had spawned a wish for a strong conservative leadership.

But the voters also wanted a watchdog to prevent excesses in policy changes.

The policies of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt were widely popular, not only among Social Democrats, and the electorate wanted no abrupt change.

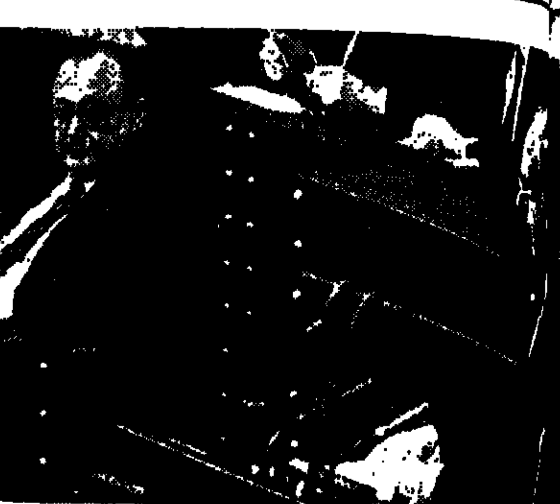
So the Free Democrats were sent back to the Bundestag. Their function there is to curb the influence of the CSU leader, Franz Josef Strauss, and to prevent the government from following purely conservative policies.

This is not new. The FDP function has always been to put the brakes on the senior coalition partner. They have also been expected to introduce liberal ideas into policymaking.

So with the FDP being expected to carry the liberal flag domestically and continue, with minor changes, the SPD/FDP policy abroad, clashes within the coalition are inevitable.

All coalitions have their clashes. But they must end before the point where the business of governing becomes jeopardised.

The Kohl-Genscher government began its work with this handicap. It was obvious from the start that there was no shortage of areas in dispute, especially between the FDP and the CSU. In *Deutschlandpolitik* and foreign policy the CSU wanted a complete about turn. Genscher and his team had to fight it out to limit the changes. However *Ostpolitik* is no longer a verbal battlefield between the two. Not since Chancellor Kohl went to Moscow (which, says Kohl, paved the way for talks on agreements that had been put on ice) and not since Strauss arranged that DM1bn loan to the GDR.



Genscher (left) and Kohl. Is the gap between them smaller? (Photo: Sv...

There is, though, still plenty of room for dispute in domestic and legal policies. This is the domain of Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann of the CSU. The FDP had to relinquish this portfolio in the new government.

When they did give it up, they had little idea of the friction this would cause.

Zimmermann is a tough fighter who seems to have reconciled his differences with Strauss. He is scoring one point after another, aided by the fact that Justice Minister Hans Engelhard (FDP) is not exactly a ball of fire.

This is why Liberal opponents of the about-turn like former Interior Minister Gerhart Baum have picked up the cudgels on Engelhard's behalf.

Baum's position in the changed FDP was not particularly strong. He had become something of a nuisance. But now he is suddenly seen as a useful helper.

But how long will Baum and others like him be needed? Until the Hesse election later this year when the FDP hopes to be returned to the State Assembly? Or beyond then?

What speaks in favour of the latter possibility is that the left liberal Baum and his colleague Burkhard Hirsch have uses beyond picking chestnuts out of the fire for their still unstable party. They provide Chancellor Helmut Kohl with a welcome shield against S... arrows.

They are expected to kill tw... with their liberal stone. It is, ... the Free Democrats' function t... an unruly Strauss even if this p... Chancellor more than the FDP.

But it does not always work ... as shown by the dispute over the ... demonstration law.

The FDP now has to pay for ... plunged into an uncertain ad... and lost its scope of action in ... cess. There will be many a bitter ... swallow if the CSU digs in its he...

The envisaged new aliens l... and the new provisions on pr... against invasion of privacy ... data abuse will show whether th... rals will put up a fight or ... give in.

The FDP cannot keep abando... beral policies. Otherwise too m... public will ask itself why it ga... another chance.

In the long run, it would be ... for the FDP to raise a liberal ... cry and then smoke a peace pip... Franz Josef Strauss. A bark wi... bite is not enough.

But a bite is also a risky busin... cause it would damage the co... that now presents a picture rath... lur to the social-liberal allianc... last years.

*Helmut B...*

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 22 J...)

## Poll shows that Schmidt is still popular

An opinion poll shows that former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is still far more popular than Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The poll, by Allensbach, shows that 75 per cent of respondents had a high opinion of Schmidt. Kohl polled 59 per cent to the same question.

Most voters under 30 for the first time have positive views about Kohl.

Others in the popularity stakes included Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg (55 per cent) and Opposition leader Hans-Jochen Vogel (53 per cent).

Franz Josef Strauss is at the bottom of the pops: 52 per cent had a poor opinion of him.

The poll, taken early in July, reveals that people are seeing the change of government as a genuine about turn: 53 per cent though it was compared with 38 per cent who say that "everything is continuing as before".

In May, another poll revealed that only 40 per cent spoke of an about-turn while 43 per cent said that there were no major changes.

Professor Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, chief executive of Allensbach, speaks of a "slightly positive mood."

She also says that the assessment by the voting population is conflicting. The voters see it as positive that the state has become thriftier and that the public debt is being pared down.

But criticism prevails in the social and economic sectors.

According to Professor Noelle-Neumann, the respondents said that their own economic position had worsened since the change of government, that the jobless rate had risen, that vacancies for apprenticeships had gone down, that pensions had become less secure and that social justice in general had deteriorated.

When asked how they would vote if elections were held next Sunday, the respondents in the survey (held in July) answered: CDU/CSU 51.8 per cent (of the first vote under the German balloting systems in which voters have two votes).

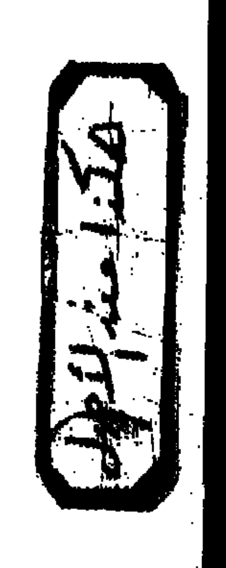
In the general election in March the CDU/CSU won 52.2 per cent of the first votes.

The popularity of the other parties has also changed little since then.

The FDP, which received only 3.5 per cent of the first votes in March, would in the July survey again have captured enough decisive second votes to take the decisive five per cent hurdle and move into the Bundestag. The same applies to the Greens.

*Dieter von König*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 July 1983)



## Crucial State elections for the FDP

State elections in Hesse and Bremen in September are crucial ones for the Free Democrat Party.

It has been voted out of six of 11 State assemblies so far, and informed opinion reckons that its national position must remain tenuous as long as it keeps getting eliminated from one assembly after the other.

The party's position is not made any easier by the fact that the Hesse FDP wants to enter a coalition with the CDU but the Bremen FDP wants to opt for the SPD.

It is still uncertain how the Free Democrats performance in Bonn will affect balloting in these two elections.

An interesting point is that the CSU has suddenly moved into territory normally regarded as liberal.

For example, the CSU leader, Franz Josef Strauss is challenging the FDP in foreign affairs and *Ostpolitik*. On environmental issues, Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann, another CSU man, is reaping what his FDP predecessor, Gerhart Baum, sowed.

The first 100 days of the government in Bonn have done little to dispel the suspicion that the CSU would like nothing better than to push the Liberals off the cliff.

It has succeeded in stiffening provisions on the right of assembly. Now it is stubbornly trying to make the FDP abandon positions on other issues such as laws relating to foreigners and demonstrations.

If it succeeds, the Free Democrats are afraid that one day the electorate will regard them as redundant.

To try and head this off staunch Liberals like Gerhart Baum and Burkhard Hirsch, who rejected the change of partners last autumn, are again championing a liberal policy.

Bonn observers are pretty certain that they are not acting against the wishes of party Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The unperturbed way in which Genscher brushes aside any suspicion that he has tired of his office seems to be genuine.

The man who last autumn strained his party to breaking point can now look back on a considerable success in consolidating it: the FDP has not disintegrated; it has, in fact, achieved remarkable election results. Moreover, the breakaway Liberal Democrats are only just and the tide of resignatio... the FDP has ebbed.

The fact is that FDP party ... quarters report new card carryi... bers and opinion surveys show th... Liberals again have a firm rese... voters nationally.

But at the same time there ha... an unprecedented change in the ... party organisations. Seven out ... state FDPs have changed their l... ship within a few months.

Genscher, who naturally says th... party has weathered the crisis, h... reason to throw in the towel.

Though the party headquarter... that he does not intend to lead th... (now said to have 80,000 card ca... members) for another ten ye... staunchly denies that the are any ... ges likely in the short or medium ...

But it does not deny that the B... Württemberg party leader, Jürgen ... lok, Genscher's deputy, stands a ... chance of taking over one day.

However, if Economic Affairs ... ter Count Lambsdorff, the undi... strongman in the party, comes ... the donation affair (there have be... legations of irregularities in party ... ces) unscathed, there will be little ... that he is the next in line.

*Gerd-Eckard Z...*

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 22 J...)

MINORITY GROUPS

# Envoys on mission to Turkey

...erman politicians have been avoiding the Turkish issue for years. No ...ber of the Schmidt-Genscher go...ment ever went to Ankara to dis... openly problems involving the 1.7 ...on Turkish workers in Germany.

...e reason for the evasion is con...ce. That is hardly something that ...be blamed on the Turks who came ...ermany in search of a livelihood.

...f blame is to be allocated it must be ...the greed of the Germans during the ...s of *Wirtschaftswunder*. In those ... a Turkish worker could be bought ... handling fee of DM300.

After the Ankara putsch in 1980, Ger...n political inactivity was excused on ... grounds that there was a partial dic...orship.

...he Kohl government has none of ...e inhibitions. It has ignored the ...tical quarantine imposed by the ...t to send three top politicians one ...r the other.

...he first was the Mayor of West Ber... Richard von Weizsäcker. The se...d was Bonn Labour Minister Nor... Blüm. And then came the Bonn In...or Minister Friedrich Zimmermann.

Each was undaunted by the prospect ... facing 43 million slighted Turks. ...ch was undaunted by the aggressive ...rkish press that regards Germany as ...rkey's 68th province. All three put ...ir cards on the table in their own ...

...on Weizsäcker paved the way with ... personal charm.

...n the eyes of the Turks, he embodies ... sort of German they have admired ...r since 1835 when Helmuth von ...ltke was an instructor of Turkish ...ps. They realised that von Weizsäc...s position would not allow him to ... much, but this in no way dampened ...r enthusiasm for him.

...he next was Labour Minister Blüm. ... Job was to explain the workings of ... intended cash bonus for Turkish ...kers willing to repatriate — a diffi... task in which, observers say, Blüm ... aided neither by his conciliatory ...ner nor by his wit.

...is Turkish hosts were unimpressed ... his high rank in the government hie...hy. For reasons that have to do with ... Turkish mentality and their Oriental ...aining skill, they treated him with ... condescension that has been per...ed during the Ottoman Empire.

...lüm boasted that he belongs to the ...king class and that he had once ...n a foreign worker in Turkey. (He ...t a short while in Ankara helping to ...d the opera house.)

...n the eyes of Turkey's upper crust, ... sort of thing simply shows a lack of ...

...hey do not understand this: cons...tion workers belong on the cons...tion site, and not in the corridors of ...wer.

...he fronts were clearly drawn and ...y to begin hostilities when Interior ...ister Friedrich Zimmermann arriv...

...he Turkish press depicted him as an ..., saying he was tough and contemp...us of people. The daily, *Cumhuriyet*, ...ried the headline "A Heavy Gun ...m Bavaria." The article closed by ...ling its readers not to be surprised if, ... alighting from the plane, he shouted "Out with the Turks!" A German TV team trying to capture the mood in an Ankara suburb reported fear-stricken people who were robbed of their sleep by the mere name "Zimmermann." The Turkish press plays a somewhat problematic role in Turkish-German relations. It is obvious that criticism of the Germans has had the function of a safety valve since the military came to power.



Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann signs the visitors book after visiting the grave of the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk. (Photo: dpa)

The press can criticise the Germans to their heart's content — which they certainly cannot do with the generals.

Turkish intellectuals and journalists now usually cast furtive looks around them to make sure they cannot be overheard — especially when talking to foreigners.

One of the facts that added to the Turkish-German strain was Bonn's introduction of compulsory visas for Turkish visitors to Germany in October 1980.

The number of Turkish asylum seekers in West Germany (a freeze on hiring foreigners has been in effect since 1973) has dropped markedly since the autumn of 1980: from 57,000 in 1980 to an estimated 1,500 so far this year.

What embittered the Turks even more was that other European countries followed the German example and introduced similar visa requirements.

The Turks have few friends these days, and the fact that the Germans still rank among the best of them has done little to soothe their hurt pride.

This seems to be borne out by the casualness with which the Turks take German military and development aid for granted rather than appreciating it as an extra effort on Germany's part. This attitude has left even diplomats speechless.

There is yet another point that should be mentioned to illustrate the complexity of the problems Friedrich Zimmermann faced in Ankara: the Turkish government fears nothing more than the return of its foreign workers abroad. The absence from home of two million Turks is always taken into account when drafting the nation's budget.

With a 2.1 per cent birthrate and a real unemployment rate of 25 per cent, the Turkish rulers are grateful for every mouth they do not have to feed. The Turks' attitude towards their workers abroad is ambiguous, as evidenced by the word *Deutschländer* which the Turkish press uses when speaking of them.

The *Deutschländers*, the press says, are more skilled and more disciplined than the others; but they are no longer prepared to conform.

Turks who have stayed at home fear that the repatriates will strip them of the chance of a job.

Returning Turks still can claim social security benefits. If they all did so, the Turkish government would be in deep financial water.

Social unrest would follow mass repatriation. In addition, many Turks living from money sent to them by their next-of-kin abroad would lose their income. Many Germans find it difficult to grasp how the Turks feel about their workers in Europe. They hope that these workers will pave and keep open their way to the West. Despite Ataturk's reforms, the Turks are not yet fully Westernised.

They dream of a Turkish lobby in the heart of Europe, a lobby every bit as powerful as the Greek, Polish and Jewish lobbies in America.

There is a good reason for the earlier German procrastination on the Turkish issue. Sheer size of the problem must overtax every politician — except Friedrich Zimmermann.

The energy and stamina with which he pursued his aims in Ankara could only be seen as hair-raising by any "decent" liberal. Yet it would be difficult not to be impressed by it.

From his vantage point of *realpolitik* there can be no room for sentimentality and regard for human destinies.

What he did in Turkey was to weigh mutual interests, those of the Germans and those of the Turks.

"We will try to steer clear of unfairness and seek solutions that will suit both sides. Our talks are meant to provide a calculable preview of events," a businesslike Zimmermann told his hosts.

There are two points he sees as particularly important when it comes to amending Germany's aliens' legislation.

First: he wants to reduce the age of children permitted to join their parents in Germany from the current 16 years old to six. The Turks vehemently oppose the plan. They would prefer Turkish children to attend elementary school in Turkey, not only because this is more comfortable for the parents if both are working but also so that the children will remain Turks.

Zimmermann countered this by saying: "A six-year-old child tht starts school in Germany has a 98 per cent chance of finishing *Hauptschule* (a school leading to vocational training). This gives a Turkish child the same chance as a German of finding an apprenticeship and make his way. On the other hand, a child that comes to Germany at the age of 15, speaking no German, can only join the legion of jobless or become a criminal."

The second point concerns young second or third generation Turks in Germany of marriageable age. As a rule, these young people get their brides from Turkey. But Zimmermann wants to stop this for all but Turks who have become German citizens.

The minister quoted figures: there are 900,000 non-EEC foreigners under 20 in Germany. If only one out of three gets married, there would be an influx of 300,000 brides, of whom 200,000 would be Turkish.

Zimmermann: "These are undeniable facts and the German people cannot put up with even more foreigners."

Zimmermann wants to achieve more than just stopping the number of foreign workers in Germany from rising. He wants to reduce the number by about 20,000 a year.

The divorced wives of foreigners in this country are to be sent home since their residence permits would lapse on being divorced.

"Come together, go together," was Zimmermann's terse explanation of the principle.

When a German journalist protested, asking him whether the women would be forcibly deported, he was told: "The position of a woman in Turkey is different from that in Germany. We want to go by Turkish custom."

Nobody before him had the courage and honesty to put it that bluntly.

Curiously enough, it was the Turks who first noticed this; and as soon as they knew where they stood with him they treated him with the greatest of courtesy.

This was evidenced by the size of Zimmermann's motorised escort accorded to him after the first day of talks (five cars and six motorbikes). Norbert Blüm was escorted by one car only.

Like the Germans, the Turks have a weakness for strong men; and like the Germans, they can be extremely tough.

Perhaps Zimmermann reminded them of some of their own, ranging from Suleyman the Magnificent to Ataturk.

With their ancient instinct for power, the Turks also know who has the upper hand and who must play second fiddle. This became obvious during Zimmermann's visit.

He was therefore able to return home in the knowledge that he has made the Turks think.

And as to Turkish-German friendship, it is better not to talk about it at all. This sentiment was always greater in the Turks than in us. These ties have never had a solid foundation; but it is certain that the strained friendship did not receive yet another blow through Zimmermann's visit.

*Nina Grunenberg*

(Die Zeit, 29 July 1983)

## Concessions

Continued from page 3

the imbalance in postal services rendered. East Berlin now unrealistically demands DM500m a year. It could well climb down a peg or two on this issue.

The GDR could also take a more flexible line at the talks on allowing the West to take over the ramshackle Eastern-run suburban electric railway network in West Berlin.

Agreement could also be reached on desalination of the River Werra once the *Länder* affected have decided how much they are prepared to contribute toward costs estimated at DM100m.

The GDR is already sounding a more cooperative note on joint measures to solve environmental problems. It might even be prepared to conclude a cultural agreement.

*Joachim Nawrocki*

(Die Zeit, 22 July 1983)

■ INDUSTRY

# Plight of steel gets worse: EEC extends output quotas

**European Economic Community steel production quotas have been extended for six months until January 31 1984. An EEC Commission plan to cut production by another 27 million tons a year by 1985 has been approved by EEC industry ministers.**

For six years the EEC Commission has been trying to bring some order into the steel market. It has introduced minimum prices, production quotas and developed an almost perfect verification system, complete with stiff fines. But success has been modest.

Nobody doubts that without these central planning measures the steel industry could not get back on its feet. Every steelmaker would expand output. A glut would force prices down.

There was a time when steel sales were expected to rise at the same rate as the GNP. The rule of thumb today is a ratio of three to one. In other words, if the GNP goes up three per cent, steel sales will be up one per cent.

Assuming a 0.5 per cent growth of the GNP (as anticipated for Germany), steel sales must therefore either stagnate or decline.

These changed ratios are due to a more economical use of steel in such key industries as the motor industry, shipbuilding, electrical engineering and construction.

These changed conditions were recognised several years ago, but it took a long time before governments and the industry were ready to act accordingly.

In 1974, the last bumper steel year with fully used production capacities and ample profits, the Community steel output stood at 156 million tons, of which the Federal Republic of Germany accounted for 53 million.

In 1982, the Community produced only 111 million tons, of which 36 million were made in Germany.

The EEC has for some years been trying to pare down production facilities and modernise what remains in a bid to change traditional steel industry structures.

The Commission reckons, about 50 million tons of production capacity must be shut down.

Some individual countries baulked at the limits set for production up until the end of 1985.

Strict planning with its wide range of controls is an attempt to ensure an orderly retreat and prevent major social upheaval.

Several countries are finding the cutbacks extremely painful. They have no replacement jobs.

They regarded their ill-advised system of steel subsidies as the logical answer. But the effects have been disastrous.

Major producers used the subsidies to offset losses instead of investing in modernisation and the creation of other jobs.

They were therefore able to sell steel below cost and thus maintain or even slightly increase their payrolls.

There will be no improvement until surplus capacities have been permanently scrapped.

The panel of three steel experts presented its recommendations in January, but so far the advice has not been acted on.

The suggested "Ruhr group of steelmakers" (consisting of Hoesch, Peine-Salzgitter and Klöckner) was rejected even before being thoroughly discussed.

True, Hoesch and Salzgitter have reached a loose cooperation agreement in which they are even prepared to include *Arbed Saarstahl; but nothing is* known of any concrete proposals.

There are those who believe that the panel's proposals have ended up in the waste basket while others hope that at least the "Rhine group of steelmakers" (Thyssen and Krupp-Stahl) could still come into being.

But the prospects are slim, allegedly because of Krupp-Stahl's excessive debt. Even the special steel merger of Thyssen and Krupp seems unlikely to materialise.

Yet the scheme had progressed to the point where even the name of the new company had already been agreed on (Deutsche Edelstahlwerke AG). It was also agreed that each of the two companies would hold a 50 per cent equity.

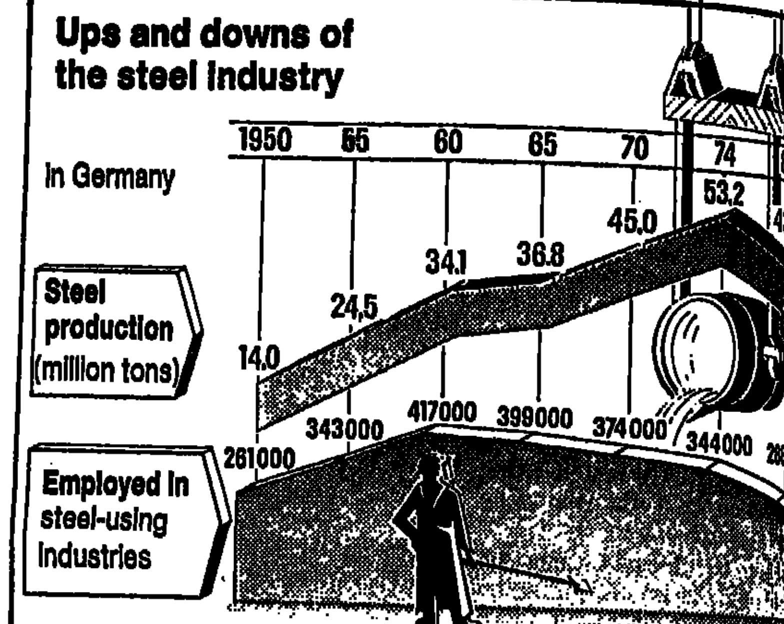
But Krupp wants "all or nothing": unless the mass steel production facilities along the Lower Rhine also merge there is to be no merger of their special steel subsidiaries either.

North Rhine-Westphalia's Economic Affairs Minister Reimut Jochimsen suspects that the whole rigmarole was just *a show for the benefit of the public and that in fact the two companies never* really tried to arrive at a genuine solution.

Each hoped that the other would be the first to collapse and that the remaining one would profit. If this were really so, it would have been a macabre game.

Some 260,000 Community steelworkers have been laid off since 1974 (65,000 in Germany). Another 30,000 German workers are to be laid off by 1985. This will bring the Community figure to more than 100,000.

But will this improve the situation?




The spectacular events surrounding Arbed Saarstahl have discouraged those who might have wanted to venture a forecast.

There are plenty of open questions: What is to become of Bremen's Klöckner blast furnaces, of the Maxhütte in Bavaria, of the Georgsmarienhütte near Osnabrück, of Peine-Salzgitter, Hoesch and the rest? Not all of them are particularly favourably located.

Will Bonn permit them to continue going it alone and subsidise them to the tune of DM3bn? Or will the Bremen-based Klöckner rolling mill (which has been hit hardest by the Brussels quota system) be divided up?

The Klöckner mill is undeniably one of the most modern in Europe. But since it was enlarged in the past few years it has been forced to work at only 50 per cent of capacity.

Klöckner has already been fined DM200m by Brussels for exceeding quotas.

There can be no restructuring of Germany's steel industry unless the Klöckner issue is settled.

Bonn still maintains that it is waiting for suitable proposals from the companies concerned, saying that the Economic Affairs Ministry will not present a concept of its own. It also excludes the possibility of nationalising the entire German steel industry or creating a hodgepodge along Ruhrkohle lines.

The trade unions would welcome such a solution but they doubt ... can be politically implemented.

The question is: Can Bonn ... policy?

Klöckner has suggested that the panel should pick up the ... back to work and come up with ... steel concept.

Others hope that the Chancellor ... honour the promise he made before ... last election and deal with the ... himself. But so far there is no ... of any action on his part — ... in view of the fact that the ... lems have become more acute ... have priority.

The trouble is that the unsolved ... lems of the German steel industry could psychologically poison ... ding economic upturn.

But one thing is certain to be ... a consolation for the steel industry ... won't become defunct in Germany ... cause no car maker, no ... company and no electrical ... maker wants to depend on ... alone.

But by the same token, no ... steelmaker can live off this ... tion of faith. What Germany's ... kers need is a long-term ... cept and adequate earnings — ... thing they have been sorely lacking ... ly.

*Hans ...*

(Bremer Nachrichten, ...)

# Mine shutdowns planned to cut overproduction

About 17 million tons of coal is stockpiled in the Ruhr area alone. This is about a quarter of the annual production of Germany's largest mining company, Ruhrkohle.

The stockpile is likely to grow by another million tons this year, despite cutbacks in shifts.

Coal's misfortune is tied to steel's. Steelmakers are running at half capacity. They are using so little coke that mines supplying the Ruhr furnaces would have to cut output by eight million tons a year to avoid exceeding demand.

The board of Ruhrkohle AG in Essen is drawing up plans for mine closures. It is feeling the pressure of heavy interest payments while huge amounts of cash is tied up in the unsold coal.

The company's board is on its own. Neither the Bonn government nor the North Rhine-Westphalian *Land* government intend increasing subsidies beyond those already pledged.

Ruhrkohle thinks at the moment that production will have to be cut from 57 million tons this year to 52 million tons next year.

This would mean shutting down two to two-and-a-half mines employing about 10,000 people. Another 10,000 jobs would be lost in the industries that supply the mines with specialised equipment.

The Ruhrkohle plans leaked out and caused much dismay — especially in Dortmund, Lünen, Bottrop and Gelsenkirchen.

It would be a political and social disaster if, on top of the 33,000 jobs expected to be lost in the steel industry by 1985, additional thousands of redundancies were created in the mining industry as well.

The unemployment rate in the hardest hit mining areas is already 15 per cent. So it is understandable that the shutdown of even a single mine with a payroll of four to five thousand must shock the affected community.

The North Rhine-Westphalian government (which, for the first ... year, is a net recipient rather ... supplier of money under the ... revenue equalisation system ... Bonn and the states) lacks the ... to ease the interest burden of such ... panies as Ruhrkohle.

Yet the state government has a ... interest in preventing public ... major mining centres.

Prime Minister Johannes Rau ... Cabinet are particularly worried ... situation because of the state ... due in 1985 when they will have ... fend the last Social Democratic ... in Germany.

Mine shutdowns of the ... level would strike to the very core ... mining communities, because ... layoffs. The tried and proven method ... softening the blow by shifting the ... kers to neighbouring mines or ... premature retirement would no ... be enough.

Adolf Schmidt, chairman of the ... ners Union, without whose blessing ... industry can do nothing, says ... range of instruments now available ...

Continued on page 7



THE EEC

# ECU travellers' cheques? Certainly, sir!

... ECU, or European Currency Unit, came into being in 1978 as ... of the European Monetary System ... Its sole function then was to ... as an accounting unit within the ... pean Community. It was never in... ed to be legal tender. By pure coin... ce, écu is also the name of an an... French coin.

... founding fathers of the EMS ... expected the ECU to gain any sig... nce beyong serving as an account... unit for fixing EMS exchange rates ... for settlements between the central ... s of the European Monetary Sys...

... ck in 1979, the Bonn Finance Mi... y said: "The ECU is not classical ... tender in the form of coins or ... It plays no role in private or com... ial settlements."

... is no longer true. Though there ... still no ECU coins or notes, the unit ... developed into a very special type ... currency, says André Louw, a Brus... Eurocrat.

... ECU is advancing on a broad ... French companies maintain ECU ... accounts and invoice their goods ... ECUs. Multinational corporations ... the currency in transactions with ... far-flung subsidiaries; American ... ks float bonds in it; and private in... tors buy the bonds and have their ... U portfolios managed by Luxem... rg banks.

... extent to which the ECU has ad... ed on the money front is evidenced ... the fact that four major French ... (Banque Natione de Paris, Crédit ... nais, Crédit Agricole and Crédit ... mercial de France) are planning to ... perate with American Express in is... ECU travellers' cheques.

... stiffening of French foreign ex... ge reulations that barred most ... chmen from holidaying abroad this ... has delayed the travellers' cheques ... ject; but the banks are certain that ... will be a market for them should ... dollar continue to rise.

... hat makes the ECU so attractive is ... exchange-rate stability. Banks and ... mercial enterprises have been ... e of this for some time.

... meeting of the Groupement pour la ... pération Monétaire Européenne (a ... p of banks, four French, one Ita... , one British, one American and one ... ian, founded in 1982) in Paris a ... ple of weeks ago for the first time ... ssed the possibility of using the ... U as a currency "without central ... s."

... ominique Rambure, a Crédit Lyon... foreign-exchange dealer and secu... expert: "The ECU is already the ... most important currency on the ... market, after the dollar and the ... chemark."

... he EEC Commission puts the num... of banks and finances houses deal... in ECUs at 200. Twenty banks use ... artificial currency for settlements ... ng each other. They are the banks ... use the Reuters Monitoring Service ... ublish their buying and selling rates ... well as interest rates for short-term ... U credits (up to 12 months).

... oreign exchange dealer Rambure: ... he banks fix the ECU rate like that ... any other currency, maintain ECU ... ounts and transfer ECUs, much like ... llars and deutschemarks.

Being a basket of curencies, the ECU is particularly attractive. The basket is made up of deutschemarks, pounds sterling, French francs, Belgian/Luxembourg francs, Italian lire, Danish kroner, Dutch guilders and Irish punts.

What each individual currency adds to the weight of the basket can vary depending on developments of foreign exchange markets. But the exchange rate fluctuations of the EMS (which does not include the pound sterling) are limited and nullify each other during a limited period of time, i.e. until the EMS exchange rates are re-aligned. This is what makes the ECU exchange rate so stable.

Community institutions were the first to make use of this advantage. The EEC Commission and the European Investment Bank used a similar unit, the European Accounting Unit, for certain transactions even before the ECU came into existence.

All they had to do when the EMS and the ECU came into being was to switch their current accounts maintained with banks in the ten EEC member nations from accounting units to ECUs.

It was the EEC Commission and the European Investment Bank that spearheaded the introduction of the ECU in ordinary banking business.

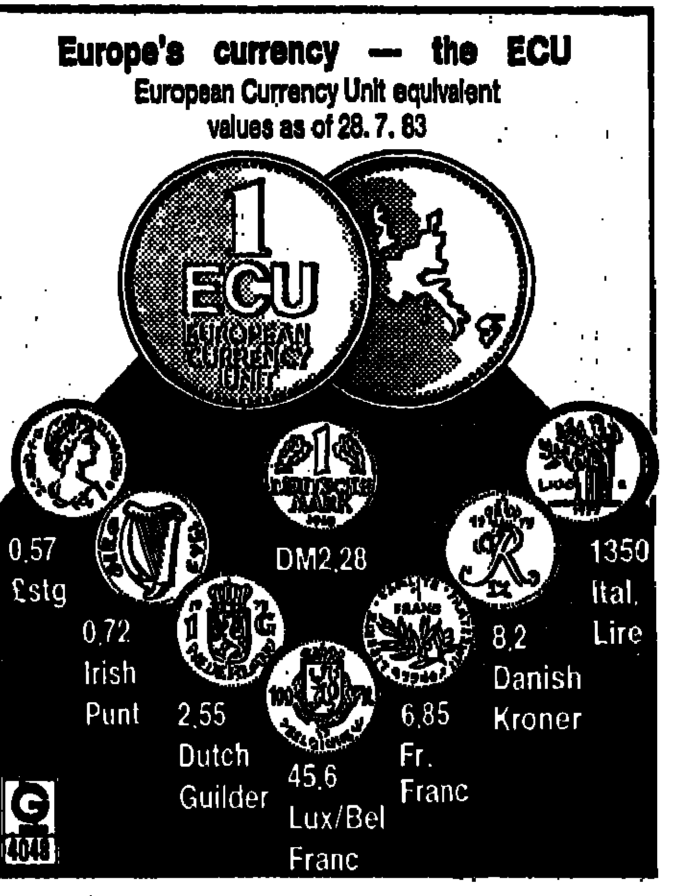
When the European Commission commissions a research institute to do a job, the invoice is settled in ECUs, and the same applies to expenditures in connection with the European Development Fund.

The European Investment Bank floats ECU bonds and grants loans in the artificial currency.

Statistics compiled at the end of 1982 show that Investment Bank transfers to member nations and commercial enterprises in the Community amounted to ECU270m.

The fact that a Danish savings bank granted its first ECU loans to private customers as far back as April 1979 shows the attraction of the ECU beyond Community institutions.

That particular bank grants up to six-loans to a maximum of ECU20,000 to small businessmen, artisans and farmers. ECU bank loans to private enterprises granted so far in the European Community are estimated at ECU400m. True, this is only a tiny fraction of overall bank loans, but the indicative things is that the amounts lent have been rising steadily. For instance, the Italian Instituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino granted an ECU30m credit (in lire) to the cities of Milan, Turin and Genoa in 1981. The bank itself raised the money on the Euromarket. The French Crédit National was granted an ECU200m back-up facility for five years by a consortium of banks led by Crédit Lyonnais. The individual portions of the loan were raised on the Euromarket by a consortium of banks headed by Goldman Sachs, New York.




The ECU also comes in handy for governments and state-owned companies tht want to raise money on foreign capital markets.

In 1981, Belgium's Kredietbank floated an ECU25m bond issue for Italy's state-owned telephone company SOFTE. The issue was over-subscribed to the tune of ECU35m.

Apart from the Italian banks and companies accounting for loans to the tune of ECU105m, French government-owned companies also make use of ECU loans obtained on Euromarkets. One of these companies is Gaz de France which floated an ECU100m bond issue on the Euromarket — until then the biggest single operation of this kind.

The Republic of Italy floated an ECU500m bond issue in 1982, of which ECU450m were subscribed at Italian banks in lire, while the rest was raised in ECUs on Euromarkets.

Even non-EEC companies like Quebec Hydro have meanwhile become aware of the ECU's advantages in long-term financial deals.

The European Atomic Community has borrowed ECU42m from Italian insurance companies. In turn, the insurers were permitted to offer their customers 15-year life insurances payable in ECU.

There are two reasons for the fact that the advance of the ECU has conventrated on Italy and France (and to a lesser extent Belgium, Luxembourg and Denmark) while more or less skipping the Federal Republic of Germany.

For one thing, German banking laws preclude a more active ECU role as a currency (unlike Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and France which recognise the ECU as a regular currency). For another, the interest in the ECU is greatest in countries with weak currencies. It is only natural for those countries to be interested in the ECU's exchange rate stability.

This explains why the ECU has been seized upon for business transactions in Italy and France.

According to Dominique Rambure of Crédit Lyonnais, Italian businessmen already finance one out of five export deals in ECU.

André Delvaux of Société Générale de Banque in Brussels: "There can be no moer efficient hedge against exchange rate risks."

Multinational corporations are also beginning to realise the stability advantage of the ECU in dealing with their foreign subsidiaries.

The French Saint-Gobain company was the first to invoice commodity shipments within its own organisation in ECU, starting from 1980.

Saint-Gobain's finance manager, Jacques Pillet, says: "That was a startling move in the beginning, but by now it's routine."

The Lesieur group followed suit last year and is now increasingly trying to settle the invoices of its foreign suppliers in ECU.

It is almost impossible to estimate the number of companies already using ECUs in their foreign business.

The number of companies that send a daily telex to the Brussels Commission to obtain the ECU rate, is, however, unlikely to exceed 200.

*Hans-Hagen Bremer*

(Die Zeit, 22 July 1983)

Continued from page 6

cope with the social effects of mine shutdowns must be enlarged."

Schmidt has already announced that he would oppose the "total shutdown of a living mine," though he might not necessarily oppose partial measures.

He realises that his union can ignore neither the profit motive in a free enterprise system nor the fact that there is no public cash available.

What he has in mind is the possibility of closing parts of mines and the development of mine grids whereby the open-cast operation of one mine would be shut down while underground work would proceed at a lesser rate.

Some unconventional proposals have also been put forward, among them shorter working times for miners and a sort of "hard times fund" similar to that in the construction industry. This would amount to a pool into which all contribute and draw out if and when needed.

The unions and municipal policymakers have also called for curbs on imported coal to boost domestic production, export subsidies for the local industry and government subsidies for industrial enterprises or government authorities that intend to convert their heating systems to coal, which is cheaper anyway.

A new round of coal talks in Bonn, probably in September, is to draft framework conditions for a revival plan.

The Bonn coalition is expected to publicly disavow the socalled 90/90 provisions (90 million tons a year in 1990) and thus assume co-responsibility for the subsequent shutdown of mines.

But the Bonn Economic Affairs Minister is unlikely to oblige. Instead, he will maintain his present stance that it is entirely up to the individual company to decide whether it wants to shut down a mine.

But there still remains the question as to whether Bonn will also shirk the issue of ensuring energy supplies.

A mine shutdown is irreversible; and if there is a new oil crisis or a bottleneck in gas imports, politicians who today put the lid on natural resources that will be urgently needed tomorrow will find themselves in deep water.

*Frank Bünte*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 17 July 1983)

## ■ POLITICAL BOOKS

# How the balance of power is becoming an imbalance

Some time ago a shrewd and influential Pole in a private conversation told the tale of a high-ranking Polish official who had visited the Soviet Union in the 1970s, when detente was in its heyday.

With reference to the Soviet arms build-up he had concluded: "If the West ever realises what is really going on there, it will be terrible for us all."

Terrible it has become, and everyone has made their contribution.

In the East the Soviet Union with its arms build-up has chosen to disregard the rules of the nuclear age, and no-one knows for sure whether the Soviet military-industrial complex is still politically controllable.

In the West the United States may have sounded the alarm but it creates as many problems as it solves, so hectic is it and the rhetoric of the US administration.

Western public opinion in general has undergone a change that fundamentally affects the framework of security policy decisions.

In the Federal Republic of Germany in particular the security policy debate has come in all hues, from provincialism to hysteria.

And that in a country the shape of which is of greater significance for peace and security in Europe in the years ahead than that of any other state in Western Europe!

So it is high time for a review of the essentials of security policy and of forces and trends with a long-term effect and to draw up new approaches for the future.

These two new books are compulsory reading.

**Uwe Nerlich (Ed.): Sowjetische Macht und westliche Verhandlungspolitik im Wandel militärischer Kräfteverhältnisse (Soviet Might and Western Negotiating Policy in the Light of Changes in Military Power Relations), Nomos-Verlag, Baden-Baden 1983, 632pp., DM39.**

**Uwe Nerlich (Ed.): Die Einhegung sowjetischer Macht (Containment of Soviet Power), Nomos-Verlag, Baden-Baden 1983, 500pp., DM 39.**

No-one who works through these two volumes (and work is the word) will find consolation in them.

What they have to offer is fundamental information, an unusually instructive marshalling of the facts and a succession of brilliant realisations.

Much is new even for the specialist. Nearly everything is alarming and sobering. The two books are outstanding both in German and in comparison with literature on the subject in English.

They summarise the findings of several years of work by an international working party headed by Uwe Nerlich, who has reaffirmed his internationally acknowledged authority on security policy.

His authors hold varied views. They are conservative liberals, Social Democrats and US Democrats, all acknowledged experts with a fund of knowledge that leaves them closer to the real world than to the ivory tower.

The US authors include Fred Iklé and Colin Gray, often dubbed critical in Germany, but also Richard Burt and Henry Rowen.

The German authors, other than Nerlich himself, are Lothar Rühl, with two extremely readable essays on Soviet policy and arms control, and Trutz Rentorff, with a thought-provoking analysis of peace ethics.

There are also articles by well-known foreign experts such as Headley Bull, Pierre Hassner and Johan Holst.

The analysis of conventional power relations in Europe between 1965 and 1980 by Philip Karber is centred on a carefully researched comparison of 10 key weapon systems in East and West.

It is one of the most illuminating articles on the subject published in recent years and gives rise to most alarming questions.

It shows that 80 per cent of the arms build-up in Central Europe since 1965 has been attributable to the Warsaw Pact.

It also shows that with one exception this gigantic output of arms and equipment changed the balance of power to Nato's detriment.

"Whenever the Warsaw Pact forces went into the lead quantitatively and achieved qualitative parity the tactical concept was changed from that of a defensive system to that of an offensive role."

The result, as Karber sees it, is that the West has suffered a strategic defeat in peacetime. His central tenet is one that German security policymakers have yet to think over.

It is that the Warsaw Pact is undermining the flexible response strategy by ruling out Western options both in conventional defence and in respect of the nuclear deterrent.

James Martin's analysis of the balance of nuclear power in Europe between 1970 and 1980 is based on equally conscientious research and is no less informative.

The Soviet Union, he says, has modernised its nuclear weapon systems over a lengthy period of time.

The facts could hardly run more counter to the alarming pictures painted in the Western public debate, which deals almost exclusively with future US systems.

A tenet that recurs and is backed up by facts and arguments throughout the two books is likely to give food for thought to both sceptics and supporters of detente.

It is that in the 10 to 15 years in which bi- and multilateral detente policy notched up their successes two trends ocurred that moved in opposite directions.

Between 1968 and 1978 Soviet military spending increased by roughly 75 per cent, whereas America cut its defence budget by about 40 per cent in terms of constant prices.

The manpower of Warsaw Pact forces in Europe increased by about 150,000 over this period, as against a decline of roughly 50,000 in the numerical strength of Western forces.

On average, the increase in conventional weapon systems in East and West was on a ratio of four to one, and this list could be extended.

The overall tendency is upsetting because, first, the balance of power is steadily deteriorating from the West's point of view and, second, one ... to wonder what aims the Sov... has in mind.

The constantly recurring ... varied and enunciated in a ... of ways, is that the fundam... lem is not the aim of capacity ... viet Union to wage war.

It is that a new political syst... rope is taking shape as a res... decline in cooperation betwee... ca and Europe.

In the process Western Euro... become increasingly depende... Soviet Union.

The role of military force, ... point out with particular clari... increasingly be limited to th... moting political change in the ... terest in Europe while provid... brella for Soviet interests out... ope.

The peace movement ign... issue. It concentrates exclusi... weapons and largely disreg... political context.

This is the crux of the accus... some Social Democrats hav... roughshod over the security p... sensus in Germany.

It is not enough to argue i... that Societ Democrats remain ... Nato. That is beside the point.

The dual-track decision is ba... matter of whether the Federal ... of Germany, in agreement wi... lies, is prepared to resist as ... Soviet claim to hegemony in ... Europe.

Those who surrender the ... position on this crucial issue of ... interest are indeed advocatin... Europe.

They are doing so by surr... without a fight to the Soviet ... destroying the West's negotiatin... tion by their domestic activities.

This new Europe is said to di... damentally from the views o... political parties in the Bonn Bu... have been agreed since 1960.

That is why why both books ... length with arms control and ... negotiating policy (why it is ... and what it can accomplish).

Often one might wish the ... were more keenly aware of the ... felt by the Bonn Opposition.

Doubters require answers, ... mocratic security policy need... than narrow majorities.

Many critics of security poli... not to worry whether East or W... responsible for the arms build-up.

The energy and actionism of ... generation for whom the ... power politics are merely a ... history books they seldom ... aimed at the West.

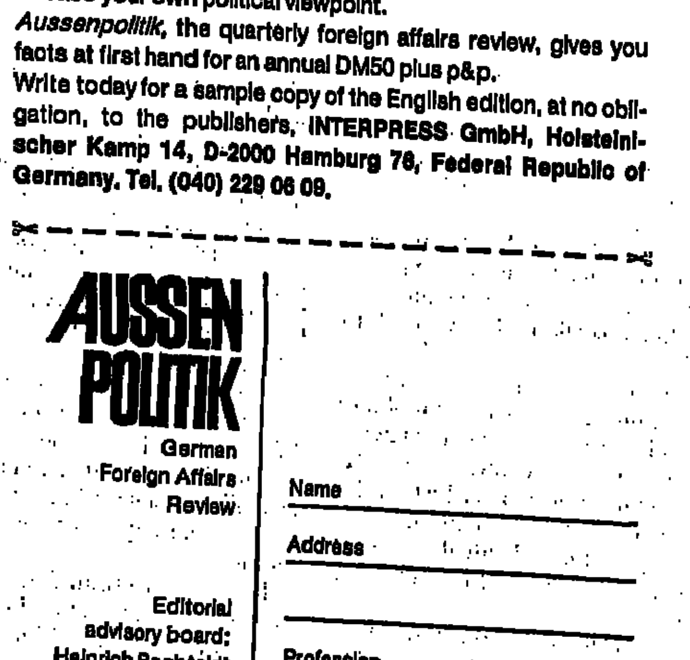
They clamour for the West to ... its security policy and have ach... measure of success. Their dem... as far as unilateral concessions, ... the East and its hierarchical ... military set-up unerringly pres... with their arms build-up.

If a security system is judged ... length of time it has prevent... then never in modern German ... has there been such a discrepan... ween publicly-voiced doubts ab... curity policy and its actual effica...

Differences of opinion that ... arisen in the Federal Republic of ... many are deep-seated. It will be ... before the consensus ranges wid... it does today once more. *Karl Ka...*

(Die Zeit, 29 Ju...)

**The writer is Director of the Research Institute, German Council on Foreign R..., Bonn, and Professor of Politics at the University of Cologne.**






## RESEARCH

# How a working day in space is spent




...er 30,000 people went round the German Aerospace Research ...lishment in Porz, near Cologne, ...open day last month.

...y more people than expected ...d the German equivalent of Nasa bombarded the experts with ques...

...rope's Spacelab probably created ...t interest. It is due to be launched ...board the US space shuttle Colum... ...t the end of September.

...uestions repeatedly asked were ... good is it and what do the astro... ...s have to do.

... wide range of experiments is to be ...ervised on board Spacelab by the ... mission specialists during their ... days in space.

...he range will cover astronomy and ... physics, plasma physics of space, ...spheric physics and terrestrial ob...vation, medicine, biology and mate... research.

...ne of the four is the first West Ger... astronaut Dr Ulf Merbold. His ...d-in is a Dutchman, Dr Wubbo Oc...

...he astronomical and solar physics ...eriments, devised by French and ...an scientists, comprise extensive ...ial observation in the ultraviolet ..., including registration of X-ray ...es and special observations of the ...

...pace plasma physics continues to ...centrate on the Earth's magnetic ...d and its properties. US, French, ...wegian, Austrian and German ex...ments are planned.

...tmospheric physics and terrestrial ...ervation have a direct bearing on ...ctice and are thus of special interest.

...he surface of the Earth wll be ob...ed mainly in German experiments, ... high-resolution photos being taken ...make up charts and gain gener... information.

...he information scientists have in ...d is on subjects such as farmland, ...ironmental influences, coastlines ...snowfall.

...adar photos, unspoilt by cloud, are ...reveal information about the surface ...perties of land and sea.

...ata on swell at sea are said to be ...icularly important and useful to me...ologists as an indication of wind ...ditions and weather prospects.

...edical and biological experiments, ...uding two German projects, will ...centrate on man. The emphasis will ...on space sickness, the influence of ...ightlessness on the body, circulation ... other issues connected with space ...dicine.

...he most extensive experiments will ... those in materials research and pro... engineering in reduced gravity (at ...celab's flight altitude gravity is re...ced, not zero).

...his sector comprises three dozen ex...iments, including 35 from Europe ...d 13 from the Federal Republic of ...rmany.

...he equipment for the various expe...ments is in the materials laboratory on ...ard Spacelab.

In reduced gravity the physical phenomena and properties of various materials (solid, liquid and gas) are to be put to the test. Liquids and gases behave differently on Earth, or at least in such a way that observation is either difficult or impossible. Liquid samples falsify certain effects on Earth because the liquid comes into contact with the walls of the container.

Samples of liquid can be suspended in mid-air, as it were, in reduced gravity, thereby making entirely new experiments possible.

The same is true of molten materials, experiments with which are falsified on terra firma by the effect of the container wall.

Such scientific projects in space may seem extremely abstract, theoretical or unrelated to anything specific. But most are aimed at specific later applications. They may lead to the development of new materials with new properties. So these experiments could arguably lead one day to the construction of factories in outer space.

Experiments are to be carried out in a ground model of the materials lab to compare findings with those made in reduced gravity.

So many and such different tasks much be carried out simultaneously during the nine-day mission that each astronaut has been drilled repeatedly at the space simulation institute.

Drill has been indispensable because there will be so many and such different tasks to complete. But it is by no means ideal.

"Later missions," says a member of the Aerospace Research Establishment's staff, "would do well to reduce the variety of disciplines, at least for the next few years."

*Gerhard Taube*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 24 July 1983)

**Euro astronauts during training. From left, Ernst Willi Messerschmid, Wubbo Ockels (Holland), Reinhard Furrer, Ulf Merbold.** (Photo: DFVLR)

# Laboratory tests try to help the diver at sea-bed level

Most of the publicity involving the German Aerospace Research Establishment (DFVLR) centres round the European astronauts being trained at Porz near Cologne.

Yet the aviation medicine institute, which is also in Porz and also a unit of the DFVLR, Germany's equivalent of Nasa, does equally exciting research work.

It is surprising work too. You would hardly expect specialists in aviation medicine to be concerned with how the body reacts at great ocean depths. Yet they do.

Later this year the Titan diving simulator is due to start operation. It is a medical research laboratory designed to simulate conditions at water depths of up to 1,000 metres.

At that depth divers are subjected to 100 bars. The highest pressure yet experienced is nearly 70 bars, or a depth of 686 metres.

This record, set up at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, in 1981 was simulated, just as the trials in Cologne will be.

Tests at these depths are by no means the only medical problems to be solved. Simulated depths of 400 metres and more are mainly experimental.

Practical diving work at depths of between 200 and 400 metres regularly gives rise to questions to which definite answers have still to be found.

Seabed mining looks like being strictly for robots and will be remote-controlled, although there may also be a role for special manned diving craft.

But at depths of up to about 500 metres there seems sure to be an industrial demand for diving work in the years ahead.

For the foreseeable future there will be no substitute for skilled divers in this sector. Their versatility and flexibility are indispensable.

For years divers have given sterling service in repair and maintenance work on oil rigs and platforms and in laying pipelines in the North Sea.

But accidents are frequent; partly because training is inadequate and partly because technically inadequate equipment is used.

A further cause is the unpredictable behaviour of the human body in such working conditions, as three examples should suffice to show.

In 1968, at the first German submarine laboratory in the Baltic, the well-known specialist in diving medicine Dr Horst Hartmann of the DFVLR died at a depth of only 10 metres.

A year later, when the submarine laboratory off Heligoland in the North Sea was inaugurated, two divers died at 21 metres.

Sealab 3, a US experiment also carried out in 1969, resulted in the death of an aquanaut at 183 metres. He was asphyxiated while trying to clear up a technical hitch.

The dead men were all free agents. None had a lifeline to a surface craft that might have been able to help.

Divers can only work as free agents at depths of up to about 400 metres after a period of adjustment in a pressure chamber and breathing a mixture of oxygen and helium.

"Divers live in large pressure chambers on board a diving vessel or a platform," the DFVLR aviation medicine institute explains.

"Pressure inside the chamber is equal to what they will experience at the depth where they are due to work.

"They are transferred in a diving bell at constant pressure and breathing the same mixture of oxygen and helium from the pressure chamber to the seabed and back.

"In work at depths of 150 metres or less, divers are often brought back to the surface immediately after completing their mission.

"For work lower down the saturation technique is used and they can spend a fortnight or longer under constant high pressure either preparing for a dive, working down below or being gradually decompressed.

"The decompression phase can take two or three days. It may even last two to three weeks."

In 1966 conditions were simulated in Cologne for 12 days in a pressure chamber. Two men survived conditions at a record simulated depth of 220 metres.

Titan, the new simulator, is to aim at a new record depth of 1,000 metres.

Research will concentrate on testing oxygen mixtures for long-term use and on perfecting diving techniques.

Someone returning to the surface from conditions way down below will do so in accordance with a timetable drawn up by aviation medics in charge of the experiment.

The deeper down he has been (and the higher the pressure), the more slowly he must be able to readjust to normal pressure.

Titan consists of four chambers: a wet chamber, a living chamber, a bathroom and toilet unit and an access lock.

The lock is to permit access at high pressure so as to lend a hand in an emergency.

Professional divers should benefit from the findings. So should industry, which sets great store by both safe and economic diving.

*Gerhard Taube*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 31 July 1983)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

# Red alert for bird species facing extinction



Save the Birds was the title of a book by ornithologist Gerhard Thielcke and others. Published in 1978, it was long a non-fiction best seller.

The title was both a demand and a plea for help, and both are more urgent today than ever.

More and more species of bird are in danger of extinction, Thielcke and fellow-ornithologist Sepp Bauer say in a report on which the Red List of endangered species is based.

They work at the Radolfzell bird sanctuary of the Max Planck Institute of Ethology in Bavaria, where they studied stocks of endangered breeding birds in 1975/76 and 1980/81.

Their findings formed the basis of the fifth Red List of endangered birds that has just been published by the Max Planck Society.

It makes depressing reading. The trend remains persistently negative, although there has been a slight improvement for a number of species.

The latest species Thielcke and Bauer say is extinct in Germany is the white-eyed duck. They also report the virtual extinction of the black-browed shrike.

The only reason for not classifying it as definitely extinct is that no details are available of recent breeding trends in Bavaria, where it still sporadically occurs.

So it still leads a statistical existence on the list of species facing extinction.

Seven species are said to face imminent extinction. They are the dunlin, the wood sandpiper, the rock martin, the black-browed shrike, the black tern, the hoopoe and the dwarf bittern.

There has been a catastrophic decline in numbers of the last three species, the two men claim.

There used to be 238 species of breeding birds in the Federal Republic of Germany; 133, or 56 per cent, are now redlisted.

Twenty are extinct, 30 face imminent extinction, 25 are threatened with extinction, 23 are threatened and 35 are potentially endangered.

A particularly alarming point, says Rainer Ertel of the Society for the Protection of Birds, is that an increasing number of everyday species are now endangered.

The latest Red List includes the partridge as seriously endangered. "If the latest figures are any guide," Thielcke says, "it ought to be classified as threatened with extinction."

The tale of the partridge is exemplary inasmuch as it pinpoints many features typical of the decline in the number of species of birds.

Like many of its feathered friends it lives in wayside trees and islands of shrubbery in an increasingly monotonous agricultural landscape.

Farmers have cleared and drained its habitat to grow crops on fields and in meadows that used to provide the partridge with cover, protection and somewhere to seek refuge.

The uninhibited use of insecticides has also substantially reduced the stocks of flora and fauna that used to be the partridge's staple diet.

This highlights the ecological context. It took a much more widespread decline in the number of species of flora and fauna to condemn a given species of bird to extinction.

Surveys by botanists have shown tha. 72 varieties of wild flower have either vanished or are endangered as a result of human interference in fields and meadows.

"The superficial green of consolidated arable land is deceptive," says the Max Planck Society. "It hides a grey and unnatural monotony."



On the way out. The partridge. (Photo: A...)

Mere vestiges of unspoilt natural environment are all that is left in the Federal Republic, the report says.

A particularly catastrophic loss from the viewpoint of breeding birds has been the disappearance of nearly all moorland.

Only about two to three per cent is said to be still in a state anywhere resembling the natural condition.

The destruction of stream and river banks and primeval woodland is no less catastrophic from the bird-lover's point of view.

Acid rain now threatens to destroy virtually every acre of woodland in the country. If trees carry on dying at the present rate about 60 species of wood birds will be in acute danger, Thielcke says.

Rachel Carson wrote her *Silent Spring* in the early 1960s, outlining a traumatic vision of a world without birdsong. Spring looks like growing steadily more silent, Thielcke and Bauer say.

Their latest research findings make her book seem prophetic 20 years later.

*Horst Schiffmann*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 July 1983)

# Pollution cas[es] go to cour[t]

Atmospheric pollution ... deaths, both on the incr... the subject of several cases b... Constitutional Court in Karlsr...

Environmental pollution, sa... na Krems-Hemesath, is a brea... basic right to life and property... development of personality.

She and her husband, a Colo... fessor of administrative orga... lodged their complaint, the fi... kind, with the Karlsruhe cou... June.

In their Neunkirchen Appeal, ... after the town where the Krem... the Federal and *Land* governm... called on to undertake immedia... measures needed to reduce the ... atmospheric pollution fast and ... tively.

Frau Krems says this is not ... gramme about which political ... sion is possible. The state has ... failure in averting danger to the ...

Appealing to the Consti... Court is thus the last hope. It i... the judges to require politicians ... suitable action, she says.

Fifteen people have lodged ... suits, Professor Krems says. T... clude Essen parents whose chil... suffering from the pseudo-Kru... drome.

It is a convulsive cough accom... by fits of choking. The parents ... atmospheric pollution of be... blame.

Cases are backed by a trio of ... ronmental associations that as or... tions have no collective right of ...

In a joint declaration they po... that over 25 per cent of the co... woods and forests are already in ... danger of extinction, with 70,000 ... day dying.

The economic cost of environ... pollution in the Federal Repu... Germany is said to be b... DM40bn to DM70bn a year.

If the demise of woods and fo... the price one has to pay for pr... environmentalists argue, then it i... expensive.

Forest owners, not involved in the ... gation, are thinking of taking the... action. But lawyers think they ... not be successful.

*Wolfgang K...*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, ...)

# Genetic pincer attack on the fruit-fly

A Giessen biologist has combined two techniques of sterilising insects in a bid to eradicate the fruit-fly.

The fruit-fly, an insect of the genus Drosophila, is a pest found all over the world, but particularly in the tropics, where it wreaks havoc on fruit and pumpkin crops.

In Germany it is keen on cherries. It lays its eggs in the fruit. The fruit-fly has proved impossible to exterminate by using chemicals.

Robert Steffens, 29, has been studying the problem for three years.

Since 1977, a genetic method known as the sterile insect technique, or SIT, has been used to stem the tide of fruit-flies heading north from South and Central America to the United States.

Mexican and US scientists have built a fly factory where about 500 million fruit-flies a week are sterilised by radiation.

They are then released to mate with fertile partners in the orchards. The eggs of females who mate with sterilised males don't hatch, so the insect population is reduced.

This technique has stemmed the tide of fruit-flies from Guatemala to Mexico, but it is expensive.

In Europe Professor Laven in Mainz and a British scientist by the name of Curtis have developed another method discovered in Russia in 1940.

It is a genetic technique known as the translocation method and involves changing the chromosomes to produce a relatively unfertile variety of fruit-fly.

But keeping the flies at bay is a slow process, and mass production is problematic.

In three years' work at Giessen University department of phytopathology and applied zoology Steffens has combined the two approaches.

Taking flies from a translocation line that are 75-per-cent congenitally sterile, he subjects them to a low dose of radiation that makes them 95-per-cent sterile.

This is such a high level that flies treated in this way no longer need to be specially selected before release, as in the case of insects made partly sterile by means of translocation.

His males are only slightly weakened by their minute dose of radiation and better able to compete with untreated males for the females' favours in the mating stakes.

SIT males are subjected to a heavy dose of radiation and are very weak, Steffens says, while the long-term effect of his combined approach is even more important.

His dual-track breed are 75-per-cent sterile congenitally, and this percentage is bequeathed to what offspring they sire.

So they keep the fruit-fly population down for generations even when very few or no new combined sterile technique insects are let loose.

His project is backed financially until the end of the year by the GTZ, a Bonn government agency specialising in technical cooperation with the Third World.

Steffens' technique is likely to undergo field trials in the Mediterranean next year.

His dual-track fruit-flies will be able to compete with untreated males and show how fast and permanently they are capable of decimating the fruit-fly population by genetic means.

*Gesine Desgroseilliers*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 July 1983)



[H]ORIZONS

# [J]ews and Germany: delving into unsung archives

[Re]parations payments is a term that [s]ounds as though it might have [been] borrowed from the small print of [an ins]urance policy.

[The] idea of first exterminating an en[tire p]eople (genocide), then making [amend]s by way of reparations, or *Wie[dergut]machung*, to use the German [term,] is macabre.

[In l]egal terminology reparations are [spe]cial compensation. Anyone who [suffer]ed internment in a German con[centr]ation camp was entitled to DM150 [for every month] he or she spent behind barbed [wire].

[B]ut reparations, such an inadequate [con]cept, were intended to amount to so [mu]ch more. They presupposed, how[ever], that the Germans were prepared [to r]eappraise their attitude toward the [Jews].

[A]s there were so few Jews left after [the] Holocaust there was no immediate [reas]on why the Germans should go to [any] trouble.

[I]nstead they went out of their way to [be] philo-Semitic. It was not a very cred[ible] attempt by people who, by and [large], were only too happy to forget [ab]out the whole business.

They didn't really want to know what [ha]d gone on between the Germans and [the] Jews. Which is probably who such a [ma]jor undertaking as the Bibliographi[ca] Judaica in Frankfurt has gone largely [un]noticed.

[It] has set itself the task of probing the [Jewis]h contribution to German life and [letter]s from the mid-18th century to [...].

[It] thus covers the period from when [J]ews were led by Moses Mendels[soh]n out of their linguistic ghetto and [bega]n to speak and write German to [whe]n the Germans set about eradicat[ing] the Jewish part of their culture.

"The Jews felt German culture to be [their] own," Renate Heuer wrote in the [pref]ace to her first volume of the *Ver[zeich]nis jüdischer Autoren in deutscher [Spra]che*, published by Campus Verlag, [Fran]kfurt am Main, in 1981.

"They took over and keenly appre[ciate]d German treasures and values. [The]y also transmitted the riches of their [own] ancient culture in German.

"But the Germans did not feel [pro]mpted to pay any general or more [inten]sive attention to the Jewish world.

"There has been no more far-reach[ing] impetus on the Germans' part to get [dow]n to the long-overdue investigation [of] this phenomenon of German-Jewish [co]existence.

"There has not, since the Second [Wor]ld War, been as much as a desire to [fin]d out how those who lived among us [and] were either murdered or expelled [ma]y have differed from us."

Renate Heuer has compiled her bib[liog]raphy of Jewish writers in German [as] head of the Bibliographica Judaica [in] Frankfurt.

It is a facility set up in 1966 at the [sug]gestion of the rabbi and writer Ela[zar] Benyoetz.

Its aim is to document all Jewish wri[ter]s in German, not just literary writers [in] the stricter sense of the term but also [jou]rnalists, critics, scientists, theatre [pe]ople and artists.

The archives are so important be[ca]use they are so exhaustive. Heine and [K]afka and Joseph Roth we know about.

But the Frankfurt archives are cataloguing for the first time bio-bibliographical data of many other less well-known writers and publicists.

About 50,000 names have so far been unearthed. Their Jewish origins, biographies and bibliographies are ascertained and documented as far as possible.

So are excerpts from their works whenever they appear noteworthy and the reception they and their works were given by their contemporaries.

The Bibliographica Judaica currently consists of 200,000 file cards, a collection of documents and photographs, and literary remains stored in shoe boxes.

The shoe boxes are a reminder that the archives' finances have always been shaky. The project would long since have folded had it not been for the missionary zeal of Frau Heuer.

She kept the archives going in the face of all difficulties. Her commitment is not personally motivated, as it were, inasmuch as she is not of Jewish descent herself.

The archives are housed in the basement of a house in the Frankfurt suburb of Westend. They clutter up two packed rooms, with just enough space between the filing cabinets for two people to sit down.

Frau Heuer pays the rent and expenses such as the telephone bill, typewriters, paper and postage out of her own pocket. Her salary and those of two assistants are paid by the DFG, a scientific research organisation.

DFG grants are awarded for a limited period to a research director who is responsible for the project. Projects are usually carried out at university departments, where the interests of research staff and the project director are identical.

The department often takes the project over once the DFG grant runs out.

But the Bibliographica Judaica was virtually treated as a bee in Frau Heuer's bonnet and her personal hobby-horse, because it had nothing to do with a university.

Research directors were not unduly interested in it, and in one instance the project director did it more harm than good.

The DFG grant scheme proved inflexible and a handicap. Renate Heuer as a mere PhD in German studies was on the lowest rung of the academic ladder and non-existent as far as the DFG was concerned.

Negotiations were invariably conducted with her project director, with the result that she had to go begging, submitting protracted and often fruitless applications for expenses to make visits to Prague or Vienna that were essential for research purposes.

Often enough it was less trouble, although more expensive, to foot the bill out of her own pocket.

Yet the archives already perform a public function. Staff increasingly receive enquiries from research workers. Hartmut Binder, the Kafka specialist, for instance, consulted the Bibliographica Judaica on Kafka's Jewish relatives and forebears.



Renate Heuer ... missionary zeal

Handling such enquiries costs time and money, both of which are provided by Renate Heuer. The only accusation that could possibly be levelled at her is that she has paid too little attention to publicising and canvassing support for her project.

She has tended to go it alone in dealing with her life's work. But is it not asking too much of someone to be both a research worker and her own public relations officer?

Public relations ought surely to have been handled by her project director.

The DFG grant expires this year, and for a while it looked as though that

Continued on page 12

# What Auschwitz remains a symbol of

Auschwitz remains for many Jews the painful proof that the Christian civilisation is not to be trusted, says a German-born American, Professor Jakob J. Petuchowski.

But, he told guests at a lecture at Saarbrücken University, discussion between Christians and Jews had reached an enviable level in Germany compared with America.

This was because of the guilt Christians felt about the Nazi annihilation of European Jews.

Professor Petuchowski holds the chair of rabbinical studies and Jewish theology at the Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, Ohio.

He was born in Berlin in 1925 and escaped to Britain just before war broke out. His family remained in Germany and died in concentration camps.

Beginnings of a Jewish Theology of Christianity was his topic. The lecture was sponsored by the faculty of Roman Catholic theology and a local bank.

The aim of the partnership is to hold lectures on the social and political significance of religion today.

In view of increasingly inflexible religious attitudes in world hotspots and his own personal experience Professor Petuchowski outlined what can only be called a grand design extending into the theological future.

It would, he said, be a truly Copernican revolution in both Jewish and Christian thought if a Jewish theology of Christianity and a Christian theology of Judaism were to emerge.

Whether Jewish beginnings were sound enough to lay the groundwork for any such edifice would depend in part on how Christians behaved toward Jews.

Asked when he felt able to visit Germany again, he said 1973. He had deliberately left it late.



Jakob Petuchowski ... several titles available in German, (Photo: Schmidt)

He had suffered from a psychological block as a result of losing his family in Germany. He had not intended to revisit Germany unless the Germans themselves invited him.

He was first invited by a religious foundation in Freiburg in 1973.

Now he regularly visits the Federal Republic of Germany, where he holds courses in theology.

How does he feel about Germany today? "I refuse to generalise. My religion forbids me to make the children responsible for the sins of their forebears."

But when he meets a German in the street who will have been old enough at the time he immediately wonders whether it might be the man who murdered his mother or father.

Professor Petuchowski stresses that discussion between Christians and Jews in Germany today has reached an enviable level compared with America, although America had both more funds and more people.

Why? He gave an indirect answer: the feeling of guilt Christians had about the Nazi annihilation of European Jews.

The views he outlined went much further, but he also stressed that Auschwitz remained for many Jews the painful proof that Christian civilisation was not to be trusted.

How does Petuchowski see himself and how did he arrive at his wider view (and not just in terms of theology)?

"I stand above parties, just like my great teacher Leo Baeck," he says. He does not represent any specific school of thought

His grandfather was an orthodox rabbi in Berlin. He grew up in a typically German Jewish orthodox family. It was a pious family, but wide open to culture in general.

As a young Talmud scholar he had rebelled against parental views. At 17 he was sent to an orthodox rabbinical college in Scotland and "felt unable to breathe."

He discovered Liberal Jewry, went to London, studied there and became a religious instructor at the Reformed Synagogue.

He took private lessons from Leo Baeck, with whom he later went to Cincinnati.

How does he feel about Israel, where he has worked as head of the Hebrew

Continued on page 14

■ HERITAGE

# Rules remain rules: strictly no hanky pankerei in the Fuggerei

The *Fuggerei* is a group of 67 16th century gabled houses in Augsburg containing 147 apartments. The apartments are let to the poor at nominal rents by the Fugger Foundation, which carries, the name of three 16th century merchant brothers, Ulrich, Georg and Jacob Fugger.

German television is running a six-part series on the Fugger merchant dynasty. This has turned the houses into a major tourist attraction.

The gates to the settlement are closed at 10 pm every day. To enter or leave later, the nightwatchman, has to be paid 50 pfennigs (after midnight it goes up to a mark). The gates reopen at 5 am (6 am in winter).

Admission to this intact and compact little world is still free, the streets are clean and there are no souvenir shops.

What worries the *Fuggerei* administration is the very stuff the Fuggers once used in their role as king- and pope-makers: money.

The Foundation is now in the process of systematically remodelling all 147 apartments.

What used to be the children's rooms are now to be turned into kitchen-cum-living rooms while the small kitchens will be converted into bathrooms, and gas heating will be installed. The cost per housing unit: DM180,000.

The *Fuggerei* is financed from the money earned from the Fugger forests, among the largest privately-owned forests in Germany. But the forests are threatened by acid rain.

The Foundation had no great trouble restoring, enlarging and beautifying the *Fuggerei* after the ravages of the 30 Years War and then again after World War II.

But now it has to go out of its way to ensure the survival of a housing complex that has for centuries been a major part of Germany's cultural and social heritage.

"To thank the Good Lord for the bounty bestowed on them and in a spirit of noble generosity" the Fugger brothers Ulrich, Georg and Jakob in 1519 donated the first 106 fully furnished homes "to their industrious but poor fellow citizens." To this day, applicants for a *Fuggerei* home must be Catholic and "impoverished due to no fault of their own." Their income must not exceed DM 2,000. Understandably, the waiting list is long. Successful applicants — childless couples with the husband no younger than 55 — pay only a token rent of DM1.72 a year. This is the rent laid down in 1573 when it was based on the Rhineland guilder. It has never been changed.

Inhabitants do, however, have to pay a surcharge of DM25 for such new-fangled public services as refuse disposal, sewerage, water and street cleaning.

A "pious and honourable lifestyle" and cleanliness rank at the top of the community regulations.

Occupants are not allowed dogs. They're not allowed to dirty the premises by feeding birds.

They cannot park cars or install outside television aerials. They are also forbidden to bleach and dry laundry in the front yard, use loudspeakers at night or chop wood indoors.

The 1957 regulations, which are still in force, are a mockery of modern laws for the protection of tenants. The Foundation has a right to evict anybody and, unless he moves out within three days of receiving an eviction notice, to remove his or her possessions.

In return for virtually free housing in simple but cosy surroundings, the tenants must attend the *Fuggerei* church every morning to pray for the souls of the donors.

To this day, social welfare remains one of the major principles.

A woman whose husband has died is given a smaller "widow's ... only one mark a year.

The compound is visited by ... once a week and has a residen...

But the *Fuggerei's* own ... which had running water as ... 1638, has disappeared. So has ... cabin" where people with syp... treated — in some cases succes... with an extract made from ... guaiacum wood.

Another thing that has disapp... the 1731 school where a teache... 180 children simultaneously fo... nual pay of 15 gulden and a ... rye.

Every home still has its ... door; the inside walls and ... wood panelled, and the cast-i... ing stove was designed to ... from the kitchen. There wa... serving hatch between the kit... the living room.

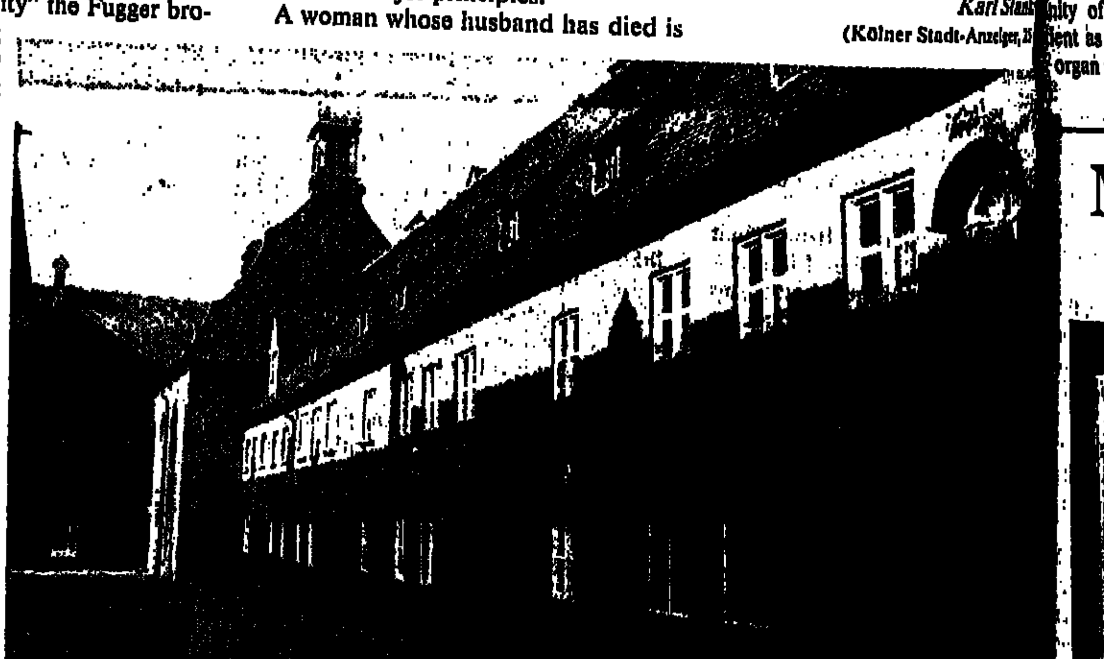
The toilet, a portable chair ... container, was in the kitchen. ... tainer was emptied into the riv... got dark.

House No. 13 (the *Fuggerei*... first to introduce numbered ... wealthy Augsburg) is the only ... in its original state.

A pamphlet for visitors says ... we show you here is not meant ... entertainment." The pamphlet ... visitor that the idea was to co... impression of the life of simple ... centuries ago — a life that ha... comforts thanks to Germany's ... pitalists: the Fuggers.

*Karl Stan...*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, ...)



No loudspeakers at night ... the *Fuggerei* in Augsburg.

Continued from page 11

would mean the end of the road for the Bibliographica Judaica.

Frankfurt University is short of staff and was reluctant to take the archives over because of the wage bill that might mean.

But the new project director, Norbert Altenhofer, a Frankfurt German studies man, has collaborated with Frau Heuer in drawing up proposals that could ensure the archives' survival.

A society of friends is to be set up to raise funds to pay the wage bill, which amounts to roughly DM160,000 a year.

The DFG would hand over to this society the rights it has in respect of the archives. The university would provide premises and to a limited extent meet expenses.

Hartwig Keim, the president of Frankfurt University, is all in favour of this solution and says over the telephone he is confident the remaining problems can be solved.

What are still needed are patrons and sources of funds to ensure that the archives can carry on working.

After 17 years of collecting material the Bibliographica Judaica is in a position to work in public and start to probe more closely the history of Germans and Jews.

American research institutes and universities work along similar lines, relying on patrons. It ought surely to be possible in Germany too, especially in respect of something that has to do with Germans.

*Ulrich Greiner*

(Die Zeit, 15 July 1983)



■ MEDICINE

# Searching behind the symptoms for the person who is ill



Most people who see a doctor are not really sick. They just don't ... well. The average doctor who has been trained to diagnose physical ...ders doesn't really know what to ... with these patients.

...he does a lot of things with them. ...ough he gets the whole diagnostic ...inery going he still fails to find out ... the trouble is.

...is is what Professor Herbert Wei... of Los Angeles, told delegates at ...th World Congress on Psychoso... Medicine in Hamburg.

The very fact that this congress (600 ...gates from 33 countries) was very ...h smaller than the huge meetings of ...ons, internists and psychiatrists re...s the position of psychosomatic me...ne.

The discipline that deals with both psyche and the body and their inter... in illness and its cure is, paradoxi...y, the one that receives the least at...ion in medical training and in day-...ay medicine.

Conventional medicine (which in the ...days used to be the same as psycho...atic medicine) tends to exclude psy...logical factors as unscientific.

But it is this very exclusion that is ...scientific, not to mention the inhu...ity of a medicine that views the ...ient as the owner of a malfunction... organ rather than as a suffering person.

The much too low assessment of psychosomatic medicine by conventional doctors who concentrate entirely on the body is grotesquely incommensurate with the growing importance of psychosomatics.

For one thing, the classical psychosomatic disorders (anorexia, chronic intestinal inflammation and stomach and duodenal ulcers) have increased lately, the congress was told. And, for another, psychosomatic medicine has greatly extended its range of research and treatment.

Today's psychosomatics goes a step further by delving into the effects of a physical illness on the psyche. A wide variety of physical ailments ranging from high blood pressure, coronary disorders to cancer are now understood as breakdowns of regulating mechanisms in which psychological factors could play a role.

But exactly what this role is still has to be researched by psychosomatics, which has developed into an inter-disciplinary branch of medicine.

Professor Weiner asked: Why does a person living under particular conditions at a particular time fall ill of a particular disease at a particular moment of his life?

He cited the role bereavement can play in bringing about illness, pointing to results already obtained through epidemiological research and animal experiments and the questions still remaining open.

Social ties are evidently vital to both people and animals. Separation or fear of separation or loss can bring about a variety of diseases ranging from such well known psychosomatic ailments as asthma, diabetes or cancer.

When baby rats were prematurely separated from their mother (at the age of two weeks) half of them died of infectious diseases within 100 days, as tests by a research team headed by Professor Weiner have shown. The rats' immunological system had been measurably weakened.

Institutionalised children are prone to infection.

Bereavement in middle-aged adults can also lead to a weakening of the immunological system that usually does not occur until old age.

Premature separation of young animals from their mother also changes their brain metabolism and affects the cardiovascular system and the hormone and enzyme production, all of which can lead to disease, Professor Weiner said.

The physical disorders cannot be attributed solely to the withdrawal of mother's milk. They are also due to the lack of stimulation coming from close contact with the mother.

The implications for humans are clear: animals exposed to such an early stress of separation react to stress in later life with changes in their enzyme levels that promote illness.

These studies of pathological bereavement show that physical systems constantly react to psychological factors and that illness can ensue.

People who go to extremes in their bereavement are probably unusually dependent on their ties to other people. And this is where their chance of a cure lies: good doctor-patient relationship can go a long way towards such a cure.

Psychology is a basic factor in medicine, very much like anatomy suggested Professor Adolf-Ernst Meyer of Hamburg, who chaired the meeting.

Psychology is compulsory in medical training today as is practical work in psychosomatics.

This means that even those members of the medical profession who are only interested in the body "must at least take note of the fact that people have a psyche as well," Professor Meyer said.

But psychology and psychosomatics account for barely more than two or three per cent of the training.

The very fact that psychosomatics is now taught at various universities has led to apprehension and growing opposition from traditional body-oriented doctors, Professor Thure, one of the founders of psychosomatics, told the meeting.

For the sake of the patient, it can only be hoped that the opposition is no more than rearguard action.

*Rosemarie Stein*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 July 1983)



# Warning over increase in child addicts

Drug addiction among children is increasing alarmingly, according to *Deutsches Ärzteblatt*, the official journal of the German medical association.

Henning Kehrberg, a doctor at Cologne's children's hospital, says in an article that much of the blame can be laid at the door of families, society and the state.

There are only rough estimates of addiction. But it seems certain that six per cent of people between 12 and 20 regularly take sleeping pills, pain killers or pep pills.

At least one million of Germany's 10 million people aged 25 and under have at least once taken illegal drugs. In nine cases out of ten, the drug was hashish.

Of these one million, 100,000 are addicted — 60,000 to heroin.

Kehrberg says children are taking to drugs earlier and the trend is towards harder drugs.

Alcoholism is still one of the main problems. Ten per cent of Germany's known alcoholics are juveniles, Kehrberg says.

Regional surveys show that 28 per cent of 15- to 17-year-olds and 49 per cent of 21- to 24-year-olds drink alcohol regularly.

"The assumption is that there is a steep rise in the number of those who have their first experience with alcohol when aged between 12 and 14," says Kehrberg.

But it is usually after the age of 17 that the situation becomes critical. "This is when group attitudes are aggravated by difficulties in dealing with other people and conflicts with the opposite sex. Loss of a job and the resulting lack of money can frequently lead to asocial behaviour."



Kehrberg points to the fact that alcohol is cheap and easily obtainable despite laws prohibiting the sale of it to minors.

Surveys made by the Anti-Addiction Centre show that children had no problems whatsoever obtaining hard drink in 40 of the 69 shops surveyed.

In most cases, the children are not asked about their age or what they wanted to do with the bottle.

The situation in Britain is different though not much better. There, alcohol is expensive. Teenagers use barbiturates as a substitute.

Kehrberg deplores the fact that children are constantly faced with the use of alcohol in daily life because of what is shown in the media.

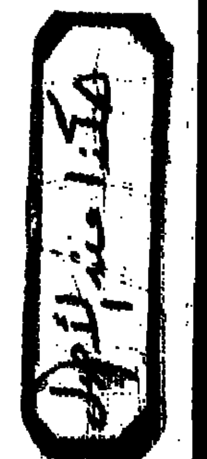
Even popular children's books tell about people drowning their sorrows in alcohol.

The addiction problem is becoming increasingly dramatic. At least 1.8 million people are reportedly addicted to alcohol, pills or drugs. This means that there is an addict in one out of five families.

Treatment is still largely unsatisfactory, and the relapse rate is high.

*Jochen Aumiller*

(Die Welt, 22 July 1983)



■ MODERN LIVING

# We want to fight, not type, say women soldiers

Women soldiers in Nato want to join combat units. They want to get away from nursing and office work.

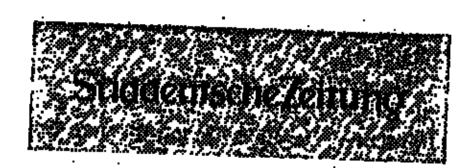
This news of military frustration emerged at a meeting in Brussels of 33 women officers, ten of them generals.

There are 250,000 women soldiers in Nato, or five per cent. The great majority, 170,000, are American.

Germany has only women doctors in uniform. Other women in the Bundeswehr are civilians. Italy, Luxembourg and Spain have no women in the military services.

Some of the 16 member nations of the alliance already train women in the handling of small arms. Some serve aboard naval vessels while others serve as aircraft pilots and navigators.

Though some of these women are military academy graduates, few of them are later given top positions.




Says Canadian Colonel Anne-Marie Belanger, who chaired the conference: "*Male resistance is naturally a major obstacle, and we are trying to overcome this with seminars and workshops.*"

The number of applications by women wanting to serve in the armed forces rises commensurately with the career prospects offered to them, Colonel Belanger said.

According to Dutch Lieutenant Elizabeth Koot, the armed forces' attitude towards the integration of women reflects the individual countries' willingness to improve the status of women generally.

The Scandinavian countries, which are traditionally more liberal, treat women soldiers better than to the more conservative southern nations.

It is not only prejudice and sexual molesting that troubles women soldiers. Judy Springer, a computer specialist aboard the American amphibian craft *Mount Whitney*, told a *Reuters* correspondent during an East Atlantic Nato exercise why the six women on board felt like pariahs.

They are shunned, she said, because the men don't know how to act towards them. The sailors don't dare talk of them for fear of being reprimanded by the officers, and the officers don't talk to them.

"The boys cannot be uninhibited because the moment they as much as say 'Hello' they are ostracised by their friends," she said.

In 1981, Belgium passed a law making all military positions equally available to men and women. In return, the women must meet the same enlistment criteria and undergo the same training as their male counterparts.

According to Lieutenant Carmen van den Bosche, who represented Belgium at the conference, these stiff demands have reduced the number of successful applicants although more women have applied in 1983 than the year before.

*Reuters*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19 July 1983)

# Village tries to stop Ali from being deported

A whole Palatinate village, Hohenöllen (pop. 450), has tried in vain to prevent the deportation of a 23-year-old Turk, Naci Damir.

Damir thinks that he would become the target of "Grey Wolves" killer commandos back in Turkey.

A Kaiserslautern court turned down the application of a couple who wanted to adopt him because, as the court put it, there was " no natural parent-child relationship."

Since this was already a ruling on an appeal, the last resort now is to make a bid for a new asylum hearing. The first hearing ruled against him.

Damir, whom the villagers affectionaly call "Ali," has made national headlines because of the backing he has received from the villagers amid an atmosphere of rising hostility towards foreigners.

Not only did the villagers support his bid to stay in the country (he arrived here in 1980 and initially stayed with his brother); they even formed a citizens' action group and collected more than 1,000 signatures.

One of the group members is Red Cross worker Karl Krennrich who has asked the Red Cross to intervene on humanitarian grounds.

The action group also sent petitions to the governments in Rhineland-Palatinate and in Bonn plus the parties in the Bundestag.

Damir has made friends with a son of the couple who want to adopt him. He now lives with the family.

Says the wife: "We're back to square one now that our applicant has been turned down and we don't know how things are to go on."

The reason the Administrative Court gave for turning down his asylum application (he belongs to an Islamic minority group, the Alawites) and that the military regime in Turkey had restored law and order and that the Grey Wolves had been curbed.

The court rules out an appeal.

*Günter Hollenstein*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 July 1983)

# Auschwitz

Continued from page 11

College and as a visiting professor in Tel Aviv?

He describes himself as a deliberate non-Zionist. He is as impressed as he has been upset by the way Israel has developed.

In 1948 the State of Israel was a historical necessity, but it need not have taken the shape it since had. On this issue he shared the viewpoint of Martin Buber.

"My view of Judaism is a universal one. The future of Jewry is not identical with the place where its cradle once stood."

Several of his books have been published in German by Herder Verlag, of Freiburg. Titles (retranslated from German) include: What Our Masters Taught Us, The Voice of Sinai, Service to God by the Heart and, his latest, How Our Masters Explain the Scriptures.

This latest work, published in German in 1982, clearly contains theological dynamite.

*Ursula Giessler*

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 12 July 1983)

# Move to make rape within marriage a crime

Hamburg Justice Senator Eva Leithäuser (SPD) is promoting a bill that would make rape within marriage punishable by law.

She says "the defence of sexual honour has developed into a woman's defence of her self-determination in matters of sex."

Because there had been a change of public attitudes, she hoped to get her bill through the Bundesrat.

In 1972, during the SPD-FDP coalition, Hesse failed to get a similar bill adopted.

Hamburg, the state with the highest proportion of women office-holders, supports the move unanimously. It has enlisted the support of North Rhine-Westphalia and Bremen in promoting the bill, and intends seeking support from other state governments as well.

Similar legislation exists in France, Sweden and Denmark.

Senator Leithäuser stresses that the "remaining discrimination against the wife" must be eliminated in line with the principle that "sexual self-determination is indivisible."

The inequality, she said, lies in the fact that the law protects the man's girlfriend or fiancée but not his wife.

This, she says, calls for an amendment of the Criminal Code sections governing sexual extortion and rape to include wives who have been sexually victimised by their husbands.

She substantiates her move with the experience made in homes for battered women. For instance: 70 per cent of the 2,500 women cared for in Berlin homes said that they had been abused by their husbands, and one in two said that her "sexual self-determination" had been violated.

The same, the senator says, applies to Hamburg homes for battered women.

In a parallel move, the Hamburg Senate is also making a bid to change trial procedures in caes of rape and similar assaults.

Says Senator Leithäuser: "The experiences of women involved in a sex trial should not be aired in public. The victim should have the right to ask that the public be excluded. Victims testifying in court frequently have to answer questions that bare their intimate lives."

She stresses that the exclusion of the public is necessary to "make it easier for the victim to describe her own harrowing experience or listen to other people's testimony."

The existing laws, she says, don't take the victim's traumatic experience into account; they are only concerned with public morality.

*Herbert Schütte*

(Die Welt, 21 July 1983)

# Doctors acc[…] police of demo violen[…]

A group of doctors has ac[…] lice of using excessive […] against demonstrators. The […] also accused of taking to peo[…] periphery of demonstrations […] the "violent hard core."

The charges were made a[…] conference by a group repre[…] per cent of Berlin's doctors.

They said demonstrators w[…] singly being treated with inju[…] vere that fits of rage by the p[…] the only explanation.

Case histories of head inju[…] ken bones and concussion w[…] the tip of the iceberg.

The doctors said that there […] been a conspicuous increa[…] number of women patients wi[…] ple injuries.

They said one pregnant 2[…] had been kicked in the stomac[…] fell. They cited the case of a 3[…] slightly built man who, sitting […] kerb and singing an English s[…] beaten up and had to be trea[…] broken wrist and a number of […] juries.

A woman who had helped […] photographic exhibition and […] in the doorway for a moment […] ed up the stairs by the police […] ten up. When she tried to wa[…] blows, her left arm was broken.

The change in the type and […] of injuries, the doctors told […] indicates that an unpreceden[…] of aggressiveness is sweeping th[…]

Interviews with other docto[…] said, supported the impression […] police now increasingly zero[…] "peaceful people on the periphe[…] demonstration rather than its […] hard core."

Most of the injured persons, […] tors said, were dissuaded by th[…] yers from filing charges on the […] that they could find themselves […] with resisting the police.

The doctors also told the […] that there is evidence that hosp[…] ministrations supply the poli[…] lists of injured demonstrators.

The group intends to urge the […] cal Association after the summe[…] days to allow doctors to act as […] tors between the police and dem[…] tors and so help to reduce aggres[…] both sides.

*Otto Jög[…]*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 […])

# Dying parent[s] seek a home for children

Gudrun Bröll, 40 is dying of […] Her husband, Herbert, 53, ha[…] three heart attacks. They deci[…] would be better if their two chi[…] aged six and seven, were adopted.

So they advertised in a newsp[…] The result wa that only five appl[…] were received. None were suitable.

Then the Press took up the stor[…] family has now been inundated wi[…] avalanche of adoption offers. […] Bröll has asked applicants to wr[…] ther then telephone. He has not […] able to cope with the flood of calls.

(Rheinische Post, 20 Ju[…])

■ OUR WORLD

# An architect revolutionises skyscraper design by cutting corners

[H]elmut Jahn, from Zirndorf, near Nuremberg, has made a name for [him]self in America as the architect who [design]s the world's boldest and most [extra]vagant skyscrapers.

[He] has been hailed in the US media [as a s]uperstar and as Baron High Tech, [s]ome critics see him as the shape of [things] to come, a precursor of 21st century architecture.

[His] career has certainly been an [amaz]ing one even in the land of unlimited opportunity. He has made it to [the to]p in a mere 15 years.

[Jah]n, whose father is a school teacher, studied at Munich Tech, graduat[ed in] 1965, and went to America as an [excha]nge student in 1967.

[He] is now one of the world's fore[most] architects, senior architect and a [partne]r in Murphy Associates, Chicago, who now trade as Murphy Jahn.

[He] has designed and built in New [York,] Dallas, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, [Los] Angeles, Johannesburg and Dur[ban. J]ahn, 43, is said to have made his [name] on his home base, Chicago.

[Ham]burg architectural historian Pro[fesso]r Heinrich Klotz describes his [work] as breathtakingly new. What is so [new a]bout it?

[Jah]n has broken the bounds of the design of skyscraper imposed on [Ameri]ca by an earlier German, Mies [van] der Rohe, 1886-1969, the last head [of th]e Bauhaus.



In place of black, foursquare monoliths he designs unprecedented structures that seem to make a mockery of stress analysis. They certainly run counter to the conventional.

To the Americans' surprise he has given them back something they had failed to appreciate, a piece of American identity.

Jahn's skyscrapers have much more in common with the Empire State Building and American art déco than anything US architects have designed since Mies van der Rohe.

Yet Jahn has no intention whatever of modishly maligning his fellow-countryman Mies, who has lately been accused by US architectural critics such as Tom Wolfe of a "second colonisation of America."

"Mies exercised a strong influence on my career, incredible though it may seem," he says. "His designs were aesthetic, formally ambitious, and not just pragmatic, as is claimed nowadays.

"Mies deliberately set out to design boxes as a reaction to the architecture of his day."

Jahn claims to do much the same. He too bases his work on a reaction to what already exists and aims to arrive at a new statement on the age in which he lives.

The Pompidou Centre in Paris is, as he sees it, a deterrent example of a statement of technology. It is a building in which technology is an end in itself and in which the idea of architecture has been neglected.

The same framework has to suffice for all functions. He describes his own, entirely different approach, which sounds much more functional, as follows:

The building must be designed in accordance with the hierarchy of different functions for the individual rooms. Yet at the same time it must correspond to existing buildings nearby.

Architects can learn a great deal from old buildings about how to achieve both objectives.

Jahn is convinced architecture ought to interpret certain relationships. Opposing the distinction between modernists and post-modernists he attempts to arrive at a synthesis.

The Xerox Center in Chicago is an example of his bid to break out of Mies van der Rohe's box. It stands virtually side by side with a famous group of buildings designed by Mies.

Jahn refuses to accept Mies's cult of rectangular corners. He cuts out corners entirely. His 42-storey Xerox tower is rounded in striking contrast to the surrounding boxes.

In later designs Jahn develops his approach further. His towers grow more slender the higher they go, with sharp edges graduated.

The smooth plate glass is also lent structure by using glass in various shades, interrupted by projections, as at One, South Wacker, Chicago.

It may also be bent into a wave-like formation by horizontal indentations, as in the North Western Terminal project, also in Chicago.

The State of Illinois Center's plate glass is graduated, bevelled and arranged in a 90° bay, departing even further from the box design.

Conventional flat roofs are also replaced: by gable roofs, slanted roofs, gigantic upside-down art déco consoles and folded tower helmets (as in the design for the new landmark of Houston, Texas).

Americans are jubilant, talking in terms of a new dimension in architecture and of the most exciting buildings since the first skyscraper was built.

In the quest for explanations for this explosion of form Jahn's references to the hierarchy of rooms or to surrounding architecture will be felt inadequate.

True, the idea of the glas-roofed atrium, the light-filled hall that Jahn extends into gigantic dimensions and even superimposes, as at One, South Wacker, by means of the indented facade rearranges the entire mass of the building.

The portals and entrance halls to which Jahn restores importance and solemnity in keeping with a buried tradition given the sequence of rooms a fresh significance.

The crucial factor is that Jahn does not simply add these features to the conventional box design. He sees them as a challenge to design new buildings to suit them.

He is helped by his go-ahead determination to express himself and by what he well realises is a delight in pushing the technical solution to its limits.

This, he says, will be "convention" when it comes to the next building.

Jahn has been greatly helped to part company with the box design by a change in outlook on the part of major US customers.

A few years ago corporate customers preferred anonymous facades behind which the capital and potential of leading companies could develop undisturbed.

Nowadays, says Jahn's deputy, Rainer Schildknecht, from Munich, good architecture has become a matter of prestige for well-known firms.

Speculators and builders have also come to appreciate that money cannot be made by building inexpensive, boring, off-the-peg structures.

If Germany's sad skyscrapers are any guide, it is still too soon to talk in terms of a new self-confidence on the part of leading German companies.

Do the benefits of anonymity and facelessness outweigh the drawbacks to corporate identity of the uniform, unaesthetic box tradition?

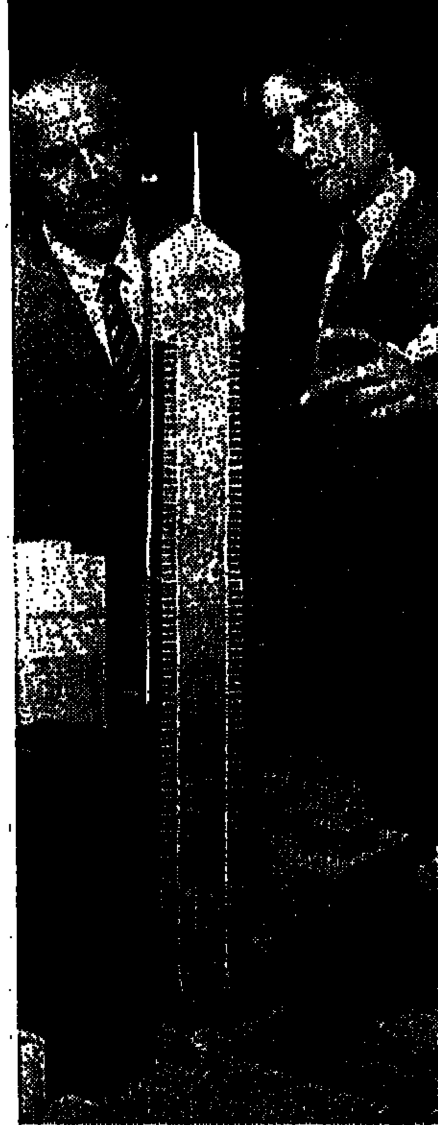
The question has yet to be answered where Germany is concerned, which may well be why Jahn and Schildknecht, whose work has made world headlines, have yet to be given a single commission in their home country.

They have not gone out of their way to take part in longwinded competitions that seem to make sure that nothing too original or, perish the thought, revolutionary is built in Germany.

Yet they have not even been invited to submit designs, not even by the leading German banks whose architectural lack of taste has marred the appearance of one German city after another.

*Dankwart Guratzsch*

(Die Welt, 23 July 1983)



Breaking bounds (and clouds, too) ... Helmut Jahn (right) with proposed 82-floor office building. (Photo: AP)



